

**Bond University**

## **DOCTORAL THESIS**

### **Cloud of Suspicion: Investigating the Effects of Clouds of Suspicion on Sports Heroes' Perceived Endorsement Values**

Borchard, Jillian

*Award date:*  
2010

[Link to publication](#)

#### **General rights**

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal.

Running head: CLOUD OF SUSPICION

Cloud of Suspicion: Investigating the Effects of Clouds of Suspicion on  
Sports Heroes' Perceived Endorsement Values

Jillian M. Borchard

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Bond University

Supervisor: Dr. Jeff Brand

Word Count: 78,666

### Statement of Originality

I affirm that this dissertation submission is my own work and to the best of my knowledge it contains no materials previously published or written by another person, or substantial proportions of material which have been accepted for the award of any other degree at any education institution, except where acknowledged. I also declare that the intellectual content of this dissertation is the product of my own work, except to the extent where the assistance of others is acknowledged.

## Table of Contents

Chapter 1 .....	1
Introduction .....	1
<i>Endorser Effectiveness</i> .....	2
<i>Cloud of Suspicion and Consumer Reaction</i> .....	6
<i>Public Opposition to Steroids</i> .....	15
<i>Key Concepts</i> .....	17
Chapter 2 .....	2
Literature Review .....	2
<i>Social Judgment Theory</i> .....	25
<i>Person Perception</i> .....	31
Chapter 3 .....	20
Concept Explication .....	20
<i>Sports Hero</i> .....	47
<i>Cloud of Suspicion</i> .....	80
<i>Public Image and Endorsement Value</i> .....	100
Chapter 4 .....	130
Methodology .....	130
<i>Study 1</i> .....	132
<i>Study 2</i> .....	160
<i>Incentives</i> .....	171
<i>Statistical Analyses</i> .....	172
Chapter 5 .....	192
Results .....	192
<i>Study 1</i> .....	193
<i>Study 2</i> .....	213
Chapter 6 .....	222
Discussion .....	222
<i>Cloud of Suspicion</i> .....	223
<i>Race</i> .....	259
<i>Limitations</i> .....	266
<i>Implications of the Research</i> .....	276
Chapter 7 .....	286
Conclusion and Future Research .....	286
References .....	296

Appendix B.....317

Appendix C.....318

Appendix D.....319

Appendix E.....320

Appendix F .....325

Index.....327

## Table of Figures

Figure 1.....	26
Figure 2.....	27
Figure 3.....	43
Figure 4.....	48
Figure 5.....	60
Figure 6.....	61
Figure 7.....	62
Figure 8.....	63
Figure 9.....	67
Figure 10.....	69
Figure 11.....	71
Figure 12.....	73
Figure 13.....	74
Figure 14.....	76
Figure 15.....	77
Figure 16.....	78
Figure 17.....	108
Figure 18.....	109
Figure 19.....	125
Figure 20.....	134
Figure 21.....	136
Figure 22.....	138
Figure 23.....	147
Figure 24.....	149
Figure 25.....	156
Figure 26.....	158
Figure 27.....	161
Figure 28.....	162
Figure 29.....	167
Figure 30.....	168
Figure 31.....	175
Figure 32.....	180

Figure 33.....190

Figure 34.....194

Figure 35.....209

Figure 36.....231

Figure 37.....241

Figure 38.....243

Figure 39.....244

Figure 40.....278

Figure 41.....280

Figure 42.....282

## Table of Tables

Table 1.....	146
Table 2.....	176
Table 3.....	177
Table 4.....	178
Table 5.....	179
Table 6.....	183
Table 7.....	184
Table 8.....	185
Table 9.....	186
Table 10.....	187
Table 11.....	189
Table 12.....	195
Table 13.....	196
Table 14.....	198
Table 15.....	199
Table 16.....	201
Table 17.....	202
Table 18.....	204
Table 19.....	205
Table 20.....	207
Table 21.....	208
Table 22.....	210
Table 23.....	211
Table 24.....	211
Table 25.....	212



### Acknowledgements

This dissertation could not have been written without Dr. Jeffrey Brand who not only served as my supervisor but also encouraged and challenged me throughout my academic program, never accepting less than my best efforts. I thank him for his confidence in my abilities and entrusting me with his wealth of research knowledge.

Thanks are also extended to my Bond University colleagues in the Adjunct Office for the interesting discussions and light-hearted conversations. During the course of this work at Bond University (2006-2009), I was supported in part by the International Postgraduate Research Student scholarship and Higher Degree Research grants. I thank the Australian government and Bond University for the financial support.

I am greatly indebted to my teachers in the past. Ms. Mary Brannock, whose ability to integrate humour in teaching about thesis statements and Hamlet did not go unnoticed. I am extremely thankful to her for teaching me the art of note-taking. Mr Wayne Murphy, who taught me the benefit of thoroughly researching a topic and creating an outline before beginning the writing process. I will forever be grateful to the time they invested in me.

Let me also thank my family: my husband, Adam Southerland, who listened to my complaints and frustrations, and always believed in me. He had confidence in my abilities, even when I doubted myself. I am grateful to his unrelenting patience and understanding. My parents, Joe and Janice Borchard, who provided a foundation of love and encouragement that served as driving catalyst to fulfil my goals. My sister, Julie Christensen, and my brother, Joe Borchard, along with their respective families, for their comic relief, reminding me there is life outside academia.

## Abstract

Advertising practitioners recognise the benefit of using celebrities in brand or product sponsorship. The ability to secure endorsement deals is equally important for the athletes as it is for the companies. Top grossing athletes, usually considered to have sports hero status, earn the majority of their incomes from endorsement deals rather than from their sporting contracts (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990). Sports heroes are athletes who are recognised for their heightened athletic skills (Stevens, Lathrop, & Bradish, 2003) by participating in sport at the professional or Olympic level and who are advertised as role models by the media (Goodman, Duke, & Sutherland, 2002). However, with the increased media attention on steroid use in professional and Olympic sport, practitioners now have to consider the potential effects of a *cloud of suspicion* regarding steroid allegations on a sports hero's perceived endorsement value.

A cloud of suspicion refers to athletes whose steroid accusations have neither been confirmed nor disproven. Public image is a celebrity's readily distinguishable personality traits (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990), such as athletic skill, achievement, charm, and appeal (Van Hoecke, Van Hoecke, De Knop, & Taks, 2000), which generate a following of consumer fans who have a desire to identify with that celebrity (Dean & Biswas, 2001). Advertising managers suggested athletes could expand their fame by securing endorsement deals (Erdogan & Baker, 1999). These contracts are largely affected by the athlete's 'perceived endorsement values, or the instant recognition (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990) as well as popularity and marketability of a celebrities (Carstairs, 2003), along with the extent to which the public perceives endorsers to be knowledgeable, credible (Dean & Biswas, 2001), and trustworthy (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005).

The media serve as vessels to carry and perpetuate societal norms (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994) that the public uses to form opinions (Ross & Nisbett, 1991). When athletes

are presented to the audience by the media, the opinions formed about those athletes are subject to media provided information. For an established sports hero, for example, the majority of the audience attitudes would be extreme and positioned towards the support end of the spectrum because of idolising from fans and pedestal of values in which the hero is placed (Shuart, 2007) as suggested by Social Judgment Theory. In conjunction, person perception, one aspect of social cognition, would suggest the audience's perception of the athlete will be multifaceted with audience evaluations being memory-based or immediate (Fiske & Taylor, 1991) as the audience analyses its opinion of a given athlete. Therefore, because the public has established an anti-steroid stance, endorsers under clouds of suspicion risk alienating consumers.

A mixed method approach was adopted while embracing a statistical inclination. A Solomon Four-group design ( $n=259$ ) and focus group discussions ( $n=27$ ) measured the effect of a cloud of suspicion on sports heroes' perceived endorsement values and public image roles. Factorial ANOVAs determined a cloud of suspicion to be significant in negatively affecting evaluations of fictional sports hero's perceived endorsement value and public image roles in Study 1. These results were confirmed using actual sports heroes under clouds of suspicion in Study 2, with the exception of public image as an athlete. The negative effect of a cloud of suspicion on a sports hero's public image role as an athlete was lessened in Study 2 as a result of fan identification. Race was not a significant factor in either study, suggesting the racial athletic stereotype of black athletes being more naturally talented but less intelligent than their white counterparts is diminishing. The high reliability of the scaling instrument offers advertising practitioners a tool for assessing the risk associated with selecting an endorser.

## Chapter 1

### *Introduction*

Researchers have established the effectiveness of using celebrity endorsers in media advertising (Atkin & Block, 1983; Charbonneau & Garland, 2005; Cooper, 1984; Erdogan & Baker, 1999; Kamins, 1989; Miciak & Shanklin, 1994; Ohanian, 1990; Van Hoeske, Van Hoeske, De Knop, & Taks, 2000), as customers have indicated their preference for products or services endorsed by celebrities over those that are not (Agrawal & Kamakura, 1995; Kamins, 1989). Advertising practitioners recognise the benefit of using celebrities in brand or product sponsorship. In fact, about one-fourth of all commercial broadcasts in the United States (US) contain a celebrity endorser (Shimp, 2000). But this group known as celebrities is not exclusive to models, actors and musicians. Sports heroes are athletes who are recognised for their heightened athletic skills (Stevens et al., 2003) by participating in sport at the professional or Olympic level and who are advertised as role models by the media (Goodman et al., 2002). In 1995, 11% of all US commercials contained a current or past sports hero acting as a product endorser (Turner et al., 1995). However, the effectiveness of sports heroes as endorsers is threatened by an increased media focus on steroid allegations against athletes participating in professional or Olympic sport. Advertising practitioners and companies now have to consider the potential effects of a *cloud of suspicion* regarding steroid allegations on a sports hero's perceived endorsement value.

### *Endorser Effectiveness*

Endorsers are selected because of favourable public images, or celebrities' readily distinguishable personality traits (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990), such as athletic skill, achievement, charm and appeal (Van Hoeske et al., 2000). Favourable public images as perceived by the audience more likely equate to endorsers with decreased risk. Indeed, heroes are embraced for being winners, performers, influencers and socially responsible community members (Klapp, 1962). In social cognition, 'person perception' would suggest the

audience's perception of sports hero endorsers would be multidimensional (Fiske & Taylor, 1991): public image as an athlete, public image as a person and public image as a citizen. The enhanced media focus on steroid speculation in sport has laid question to the integrity of sports heroes' public images through speculation of illegal use of banned performance-enhancers.

Athletes who have neither confirmed nor been exonerated of steroid use, will be referred to as existing under a cloud of suspicion. The cloud of suspicion occurs from rumour-based media generated steroid speculation (Denham, 2000) directed at a sports hero. The implied guilt accompanying clouds of suspicion is potentially detrimental to sports heroes' abilities to secure lucrative endorsement contracts, which constitute the majority of the most financially successful athletes' incomes (Lane, 1996). Endorsement value is determined by the instant recognition (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990) as well as popularity and marketability of a celebrity (Carstairs, 2003). Practitioners acknowledge lower associated risks with endorsers are safer for companies' advertising budgets (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005) and will therefore equate to increased endorsement values for the sports heroes.

Successful fan-favourite sports heroes are chosen to endorse products both coinciding with and unrelated to their respective sports. Researchers have identified sports heroes' abilities to most effectively endorse sports-related products because consumers associated the products to the athletes' sporting success (Arndorfer, 2002; Charbonneau & Garland, 2005; Miciak & Shanklin, 1994). However, there have been sports heroes who have demonstrated their abilities in effectively promote non-sporting products, as consumers favourably view their public images as people, as athletes and as citizens.

*Nike endorsers.*

Michael Jordan, a retired professional basketball player, has demonstrated his endorser effectiveness by promoting sports-affiliated products for Nike and Gatorade sports drink (Arndorfer, 2002), fitting for a sports hero. However, his favourably perceived public image has allowed him to transcend limitations and promote non-sporting items. For example, he has been seen in television commercials and magazine advertisements for Hanes under garments and McDonald's restaurants ("Payoff pitches," 2003). Perhaps the pinnacle of his consumer appeal was apparent when Gatorade launched an advertising campaign entitled "Be like Mike", encouraging media consumers to admire his athletic capabilities and personal aspirations, qualifying his status as a role model (Kellner, 1996). That public admiration equated to US\$40 million earned annually from endorsement contracts in 2000 (Ellison, 2001, April 12). These qualities represent his public image in three respects: as an athlete, as a person and as a citizen.

Another Nike endorser representing positive elements of a public image is Andre Agassi. Now retired, Agassi has been a Nike endorser for over fifteen years and recently secured a deal with the US based fitness centre franchise, 24 Hour Fitness (Swafford, 2006), fitting brand match-ups given his world-class tennis skills and proven athletic prowess. However, in addition to these sports-minded endorsements, Agassi can also be seen endorsing Canon and Genworth Financial (Swafford, 2006). Canon and Agassi have had a relationship since he was 17 years old. Now at the age of 39, Canon continues to employ him as a product endorser, clearly an indication of his effectiveness as an endorser because of an appealing positive public image. His ability to appropriately represent and promote a variety of products is reflective of his popularity as an athlete, as a person and as a citizen. Because he has established longevity as a loyal endorser to only a handful of brands, the consumer

associates Agassi's loyalty with brand superiority (Van Hoeske et al., 2000). This, in turn, has increased his endorsement value.

*Sporting products.*

While Jordan and Agassi have successfully crossed the boundary of only endorsing sports products, not all athletes have the capability to accomplish such an endeavour. Establishing a relationship between the endorser and the product being endorsed is important, given that consumers are inclined to relate the brand or product being endorsed with its celebrity endorser (Till & Shimp, 1998). For example, Jeff Gordon, a professional race-car driver, would be an appropriate match as the celebrity endorser for the brand of motor oil he uses in his car during a racing competition. For sports heroes, when the product has been a direct influence on the athlete's success, and that athlete supplies a testimonial for its effectiveness, consumers are more likely to buy the product (Dyson & Turco, 1998). Hence, sports heroes are considered to be most valuable in endorsing dietary supplements and exercise equipment (Till & Busler, 2000), products that clearly relate to their respective professions.

As the increased media focus on steroid allegations continues, the organic reliability of sports heroes' effectively endorsing sporting and dietary supplements is jeopardised. The public has established an anti-doping stance as part of its broader aversion to cheating (Butcher & Schneider, 2001; Keating, 2001; Simon, 2001). The ability to promote sporting products lies in the athletes' perceived expertise on the products as a result of consumers believing the products added to the athletes' competitive success (Dean & Biswas, 2001). Male sports heroes, in particular (Peetz, Parks, & Spencer, 2004), are perceived by consumers to be experts in the sporting products they endorse (Ohanian, 1990). Consequently, consumers purchase the products in an attempt to emulate the sports heroes' athletic success (Jones & Schumann, 2000). Obviously, the endorsers' public images as athletes contribute to



their perceived expertise. A cloud of suspicion challenges the legitimacy of an athlete's public image as an athlete by suggesting success was a result of unnatural, illegal substances.

### *Cloud of Suspicion and Consumer Reaction*

Advertisers choose athletes as endorsers who evoke positive reactions from consumers; consequently, most sports hero endorsers are perceived as likeable (Dyson & Turco, 1998). However, a cloud of suspicion has the potential to threaten an endorser's perceived likability. With an increasing number of sports heroes falling under allegations, particularly baseball players in Major League Baseball (MLB) and professional cyclists, the question arises of what effect these allegations will have on their respective endorsement values.

Barry Bonds, a black MLB player, epitomises the detriment of a negatively perceived public image on endorsement value. In 2001, he became the all-time record holder for the number of homeruns hit in a single season (Roberts, 2001, October 5). After this athletic feat, his endorsement value should have increased. However, two main factors inhibited his improvement as an endorser. Firstly, prior to the accomplishment Bonds had established a derogatory disposition towards the media and a negative public image as a person and a citizen (Milner, 2004, December 14). Secondly, Bonds was surrounded by a cloud of suspicion which surpassed the prestige and honour of his accomplishment and tarnished his public image as an athlete. Certainly, the allegations are not solely responsible for his lack of endorsements or corporate America's fear that he has a tainted image (Milner, 2004, December 14), but the cloud of suspicion most likely had an influence on his marketability when, given his accomplishment, he should have been at the peak of his popularity and with his endorsement contracts increasing. Instead, MasterCard, a long-time MLB endorser, abandoned an ad campaign highlighting Bonds's chase for the homerun title (Milner, 2004,

December 14). His situation highlights the cost a poor public image compounded by a cloud of suspicion can have on a sports hero's financial earnings.

One sports hero who did capitalise more than Bonds on his popularity after breaking the single season homerun record in 1998 was former MLB player, Mark McGwire ("McGwire won the HR race of '98," 2003). McGwire was a white baseball player whose race for the record captivated the country and rejuvenated baseball as America's pastime after the players' strike in 1994-1995 left fans disillusioned (Staudohar, 1997). His cooperative disposition towards reporters translated into a positive public image as presented by the media. Standing 6'5" and 225 pounds of muscle ("Baseball Almanac," 2006), McGwire very well could have fallen under the same steroid scrutiny, given his overtly muscular physique. Ultimately, McGwire experienced a delayed cloud of suspicion in 2005 when refusing to speak candidly to Congress regarding drug use in baseball (Sheinin, 2005, March 18). Certainly, one cannot help but wonder if the athletes' respective races became a factor in their different treatment from the media or if it was their personalities and demeanour; perhaps, it was a combination of both.

Whether consciously or subconsciously, impressions are constantly being formed of others based on their actions, facial expressions, culture, personal presentation and/or demeanour (Ajzen, 1988; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Newman & Uleman, 1989), to name a few. Spontaneous trait inferences are conclusions, or inferences, that are made unintentionally (Newman & Uleman, 1989). Individuals have a tendency to want to stabilise other individuals' actions, making them consistent and predictable (Plaks, Grant, & Dweck, 2005). As Milner (2004, December 14) explained, Bonds has always been known for his "prickly personality and intense dislike of the media spotlight" (p. R9); as a result, his negative behaviour in allegedly engaging in steroid use is more believable to the public given his prior interaction with the media. The cloud of suspicion does not appear to be an outrageous farce

considering his background. While not all performance-enhancing substances are banned from the MLB, it has been confirmed that Bonds has admitted to using two substances, both containing steroids, though he maintains his innocence of knowing steroids were a component of the substances ("Bonds exposed: Shadows details superstar slugger's steroid use," 2006, March 7). While confirmation of steroid use has been established for Bonds, the cloud of suspicion remains over him, now regarding the truth behind his alleged ignorance of the steroids.

McGwire has also admitted to using performance-enhancing supplements during the season when he set his homerun record, but at the time avoided the media scrutiny or criticism that Bonds has endured. However, the difference is that McGwire was candid regarding the supplements, with all the products he consumed being cleared as legal at the time of consumption (Carstairs, 2003) and therefore, is not associated with the shame that surrounds Bonds's, albeit unintentional, confirmed steroid abuse.

Baseball players are not the sport heroes spotlighted by a cloud of suspicion. Marion Jones, a former US Olympic track medal winner, fell under steroid accusations after an investigation into the company that supplied Bonds with the steroids. Prior to the Bay Area Laboratory Cooperative (BALCO) steroid scandal, which investigated a laboratory's role in supplying athletes, Bonds included, with banned substances ("BALCO investigation timeline," 2007, November 27), Jones appeared as a Nike endorser in advertising campaigns alongside such sports heroes as cyclist Lance Armstrong, tennis stars Serena Williams and Andre Agassi, and baseball pitcher Randy Johnson (Sanchez, 2004, February 26). Once the BALCO steroid scandal erupted, Jones did not appear in Nike advertisements. Jones claimed she purchased only legal vitamins from BALCO (Starr, 2004) and maintained her lack of awareness in knowing the vitamins contained steroids, similar to Bonds's claims. Nike did not drop Jones as an endorser, a move the company could legally do as long as there

was a morality clause written in the contract (Milner, 2004, December 14), and planned on standing by her until a verdict on the issue had been reached (Jung, 2004b, December 24), but removed her presence from ad campaigns.

The effects of the strength of Jones's cloud of suspicion were financially evident. Rowbottom (2004, July 25) discussed the gravity of the allegations against her as being a factor in her decreasing consumer appeal. That same year Starr (2004, August 16) commented on the increasing acceleration of Jones's cloud of suspicion. Her cloud of suspicion culminated on October 5, 2007 as she admitted to the misuse of steroids during the 2000 Olympic Games in order to have a competitive advantage over her opponents (Zinser & Schmidt, 2007, October 6). While steroid confirmation certainly would negate her endorsement value, Pugmire's (2007, June 23) exposé revealed the financial detriment the cloud of suspicion cost Jones prior to her admission. Jones issued the entire US an apology (Zinser & Schmidt, 2007, October 6), as if anticipating the imminent backlash to her public image as a citizen. Jones and Bonds are just two black athletes targeted by the press for their misconduct.

#### *Racial athletic stereotype.*

Media association with blacks and negative characteristics is common. For example, Lapchick (2000) highlights the media's cultivation in the societal perception of the black community, including black athletes, being comprised of drug users. Accordingly, public perception in the abundance of black sports heroes using steroids is comprehensible.

The question arises then of whether it is blacks who form the majority of athletes engaging in steroid use, or that the media targets them as potential dopers. One stereotype that has been perpetuated from generation to generation by the media, particularly sports broadcasters, is that blacks are natural athletes, inherently born with their talent, while whites

are viewed as less athletically gifted, but intellectually superior (Eastman & Billings, 2001). This is furthered by the idea that because of their alleged natural ability, black athletes do not have to work as hard as their white counter-parts, and are stereotyped as lazy (Lombardo, 1978). Thus, black athletes are more willing to engage in illegal steroid use because of their desire to avoid hard work and look for an easy advantage while white athletes with stronger character and leadership skills are less likely to succumb to the temptation of steroids.

The perceived lack of determination and integrity of black sports heroes would be off-putting to companies as there are a variety of admirable characteristics advertisers look for when selecting a celebrity endorsers to represent brands. One model advertising practitioners use is called F.R.E.D.D. – familiarity, relevance, esteem, differentiation and deportment (Miciak & Shanklin, 1994). This model will be discussed later in more detail, but the basis for the model is that the more category criteria potential endorsers meet, the less of a risk they present as endorsers. The already elevated risk of employing athlete endorsers (Hoffer, 2006) will continue to escalate as additional athletes succumb to clouds of suspicion.

#### *Fan identification and trust.*

Steroid accusations challenge a sports hero's honesty and trustworthiness. Two categories of the F.R.E.D.D. model, relevance and esteem, deal with the issue of trust. The endorser must be seen as trustworthy and credible in order to appeal to consumers (Van Hoecke et al., 2000). Without that trust, the endorser lacks in the area of persuasiveness, an essential quality in motivating the masses and persuading consumer purchase intention. Agassi is an excellent example of an endorser who capitalises on his ability to earn the audience's trust and motive the masses on a global level; however, not all athletes need to be recognised internationally to be effective endorsers.

Nike is a company that recognises the potential of employing endorsers across the spectrum of fan idolisation. It is a company run by athletes for athletes (Van Hoecke et al., 2000) that specialises in selling sporting equipment and apparel (Mullen, 2003, August 18). Nike's substantial advertising budget enables the employment of sports heroes as endorsers. Tiger Woods alone, received \$40 million to sign on as a Nike endorser (Dyson & Turco, 1998), making the contract Woods's most lucrative endorsement (Goldman, 2008, January 24). He is merely one of sports heroes chosen to support the Nike brand and its products (Goldman, 2008, January 24). In total, Nike's budget for all levels of sports hero endorsers is over US\$1.4 billion (Mullen, 2003, August 18).

Although Woods has never been surrounded by scandal or controversy, other Nike endorsers have been caught in unwanted media situations. For example, Michael Irvin, a player in the National Football League (NFL), was found with drugs and prostitutes by the police in a hotel room (Dyson & Turco, 1998). This interruption in the marketing campaign did not setback Nike, as Irvin was only a modest component in the overall advertising scheme, but for the 13 Toyota dealerships that employed Irvin as their endorser, the result was a devastating loss of more than \$400,00 in lost advertising costs and having to find a replacement endorser (Lane, 1996). Because of the high cost of employing a celebrity endorser, and the mishap with Irvin, the dealerships ended up using an animated monkey in their commercials rather than risk another endorser (Lane, 1996). For smaller companies with more modest budgets, negative publicity surrounding their endorsers has serious consequences. As Fila's vice president of advertising explained (Lane, 1996), "As a company, we have to be very careful that we choose the right guys. We don't care if they're the best athlete in the world if he or she isn't a solid citizen" (p. 242). For these smaller companies, selecting the appropriate athlete endorser who will appeal to the most consumers is the utmost priority in order to maximise its earnings.

Even companies outside the sporting realm are recognising the potential profits from using a celebrity sport endorser (Lane, 1996), perhaps decreasing the difficulty for sports heroes to endorse non-sporting products. Yet a cloud of suspicion threatens this progress as negative publicity on the athlete could have repercussions on the brand given that the consumer associates the brand with the athlete (Till & Shimp, 1998). Consequently, when consumers do not like the athlete, they will not like the brand that athlete is endorsing, either.

The ability to secure endorsement deals is equally important for the athletes as it is for the companies. The top grossing athletes earn the majority of their incomes from endorsement deals rather than from their sporting contracts (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990). For example, Anna Kournikova certainly does not earn a lucrative income as a tennis player given that she has yet to win a trophy. Nonetheless, Advertising Age listed her as the third most effective endorser in 2003 ("Payoff pitches," 2003), furthering the point that athletes do not have to be the best in the sport in order to gain endorsements. Hence, for Barry Bonds, his gross yearly income had the potential to increase exponentially had advertisers not questioned the trust he could establish with the consumers over the, at the time, alleged drug use. Undoubtedly, an athlete's public image as a person and a citizen is the catalyst in elevating an elite athlete to sports hero status, elements necessary in endorsing effectively.

The speculated financial consequence of a cloud of suspicion is illustrated by the economic struggles of Marion Jones after the intensity of her steroid allegations sustained over a period of time. Arguably, her legal costs were equal, if not foremost, contributors of her financial demise (Pugmire, 2007, June 23). Therefore, the confirmed monetary detriment of a cloud of suspicion remains unknown.

Sports heroes do not necessarily have to have squeaky-clean images in order to be employed as an endorser. Rebellious athletes, such as Charles Barkley (North American Sports Media Inc, 2007) and Dennis Rodman (Howard, 1996, June 24) have established

endorsement contracts as a result of their notoriety on and off the court. Their status as celebrities warrant them audience attention (Dean & Biswas, 2001) as viewers see them on television and want to know what antics they will be doing next (Friedman, Santeramo, & Traina, 1978). Agassi, although much calmer now, was notorious for temper tantrums on the court when he was just emerging on the professional tennis circuit (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990). Despite of his poor court behaviour, Nike did not hesitate in signing him to a multi-million dollar contract, and he has proved to be an effective endorser. Audiences took to his edgy attitude and good looks, perfectly congruent with Nike's image of being modern and innovative (Van Hoecke et al., 2000). In fact, Nike continued to employ Agassi as an endorser for seventeen years (Matthews, 2005, July 27).

While Agassi illustrates how even a negative attitude is marketable in the short-term, his ability to secure endorsement contracts does not suggest sports heroes with abrasive public images will sustain as long-term endorses. This is evident in Agassi's transformation away from his rebellious style to more public image friendly. Clearly, the transformation to a clean public image was financially beneficial given his longevity with Cannon (Swafford, 2006, July 4) and Nike (Matthews, 2005, July 27). While sports heroes with rebellious public images have established the ability to secure endorsement contracts, athletes who have admitted to steroid use have not been as financially fortunate.

Established effects from confirmed drug use can be used as a precedence to compare a cloud of suspicion. For instance, Brett Favre a player from the NFL, admitted to his addiction to painkillers in 1999. He estimates that the drug use admission cost him a total in \$2 million in lost endorsements (Lane, 1996), though that is a modest estimation. As his situation demonstrated, the admission of using illegal drugs was detrimental to his endorsement income in his failure to maintain current endorsement and secure future contracts. Another athlete, Kelly White, a female track member of the US Olympic team, was dropped as an



endorser by Nike after confirmation of doping (Jung, 2004b, December 24). When examining Favre's and White's situations, it is no wonder that athletes deny any misconduct; it is more lucrative to be under a cloud of suspicion than completely outed. At least if an athlete is a Nike endorser, the company has established a pattern of honouring its contracts until doping has officially been confirmed (Milner, 2004).

The combination of steroid use and an abrasive public image proved catastrophic for Brian Bosworth's endorsement value. Bosworth, a former NFL player, was known for his ill-temper and aggressive behaviour; however, along with his volatile attitude came his admission to steroid use (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990). Bosworth's lack of endorsements could have been due to his ill temperament; however, Agassi and Lleyton Hewitt, both loud and unreserved tennis players on the court (James, 2002, September 2), demonstrate how edgy attitudes can be marketable without a huge risk. Perhaps it was Bosworth's penchant for controversy was detrimental to his endorsement value.

The monetary disadvantage of a notorious image is exemplified when comparing Bosworth's lack of ability to secure endorsement contracts to Lance Armstrong's popularity. Armstrong, a world-class white cyclist, has been accused of using a prescribed skin cream that contained steroids, though not a large enough amount to disqualify him (Friedman, 1999) and he continues to be an effective endorser. Even after Armstrong's retirement, rumours of steroid use continued to circulate, yet the public's trust of him did not appear to waiver. Certainly, Armstrong has the public's vote of sympathy after having conquered testicular cancer and then winning the Tour de France. Armstrong and Bosworth are two different situations, yet Armstrong serves as an example of an athlete who can undergo allegations of steroid consumption but still continue to act as a successful endorser. Since Bosworth has admitted to steroid use, it is impossible to predict what his endorsement value would have been had he remained under the cloud of suspicion. One thing is clear, audiences respond

differently to cockiness than they do cheating by use of illegal performance-enhancing substances.

### *Public Opposition to Steroids*

Consumers' views on the legality of steroid use in sport are instrumental in explaining reactions to clouds of suspicion. When sports heroes come under clouds of suspicion, consumers' beliefs in the athletes' public images as athletes, as people and citizens are challenged as established societal aversion to steroid use has been established. For some sports heroes, the mere allegation of steroid use will suffice to convince consumers of their guilt. Yet fan identification levels and moderate to liberal anchor points along the spectrum of steroid use in sport will save some sports heroes from the guilty verdict in the court of public opinion.

On the basis of Social Judgment Theory, every person has a different attitude scale in their mind regarding their feelings and interest over athletes and steroid use. As new information is absorbed, it is subconsciously processed and weighed against prior information already gathered (Cooksey, 1996). Advertisers cannot be certain where every consumer's anchor point lies regarding athlete endorsers, particularly to controversial athletes who are under media scrutiny. When athletes are caught lying about steroid use, they are considered dishonest and untrustworthy; thus, they lack the most important characteristic of being an effective endorser. However, as athletes under a cloud of suspicion remain in limbo waiting to be cleared or charged, the question remains as to whether they should be treated as guilty and considered dishonest like other athletes who have already admitted their guilt. Different sports have different approaches to this situation, but cycling is one such sport in which the athlete is guilty until proven innocent.

*Cycling.*

Lance Armstrong may be the most famous Tour de France competitor to be accused of doping, but he is not the only one to fall under accusations. The motivation for cyclists to use steroids is clear when considering the potential physical effects on the athletes' bodies. As with any sport, technique does apply to cycling, but strength and endurance are the most important characteristic a cyclist needs to have (Saraceno, 2006b, June 28; Schneider, 2007), unlike baseball which requires a great deal of technique over strength when attempting to catch and/or field a ball (Jenkins, 2005, March 15). Consequently, the use of steroids to succeed in cycling is less subjective than in other sports and the severity of using steroids is considered such that the International Cycling Union (UCI), cycling's governing body, can remove athletes from competition merely for being under a cloud of suspicion ("Doping scandal rocks Tours: favorites Ullrich, Basso barred on eve of race," 2006, June 30). Evidently in cycling, athletes are assumed guilty until proven innocent. In fact, the stigma of doping, steroid use included, in cycling is so established that it prompted the 2008 Tour of California officials to require that no cyclists participating in the events could be targets of any ongoing doping investigations (Murphy, 2008, February 18).

The consequence of a cloud of suspicion on a cyclists' endorsement value is equivalent to a confirmed user in other sports. For instance, Jan Ullrich, a white cyclist from Germany and a Tour de France favourite, is one of the more high-profile cyclists to be removed from the competition. Being the Tour winner in 1997 and five-time runner-up were not enough to uphold Ullrich's credibility against the cloud of suspicion. While his squad is currently sponsored by T-Mobile, the company has since confirmed its plan to drop Ullrich ("Doping scandal rocks Tours: favorites Ullrich, Basso barred on eve of race," 2006, June 30). This is one example where a cloud of suspicion had a clearly detrimental effect both on the athlete's public image elements, as well as on his endorsement value. Arguably, the ICU

is helping advertising practitioners by attempting to eliminate its athletes falling under clouds of suspicion and thereby, decreasing the risk associated with employing them as endorsers.

### *Key Concepts*

Social cognition's person perception and Social Judgement Theory will be applied to explore the factors relating to audience views of sports heroes in relation to their public images and endorsement values once the athletes have fallen under clouds of suspicion. Specific elements of public image – as an athlete, as a person and as a citizen – will be discussed to explain endorser effectiveness and consumer response. Audience characteristics, such as race, nationality and drug behaviour will also be explored as a means of explaining the varying degrees of connectedness and sympathy for the athletes in question, thereby, drawing connections between patriotism, consumption and race.

This research will discuss the effects of a “cloud of suspicion” regarding steroid use on a sports heroes' perceived endorsement values and introduce the concept of ‘cloud of suspicion’. The following chapters will explicate four concepts – sports hero, cloud of suspicion, public image and endorsement value – as well as two theories – Social Judgment Theory and person perception. Hypotheses will be predicted and research questions created based on previous literature and the theoretical perspectives of Social Judgment Theory and person perception. Subsequently, the concepts and theories will be conceptualised and operationalised to examine media cause-and-effect linkages through quantitative and qualitative measurement. Supplementary, the potential of race as a main effect independent variable in influencing consumer evaluations and attitudes will be examined.

With the vast amount of research surrounding negative public image on marketability, the specific issue examining the effect a cloud of suspicion on a sports hero's perceived endorsement value warrants examination. Familiar examples of sports heroes surrounded by

negative publicity, including clouds of suspicion, will be examined to identify characteristics of sports heroes and endorsers in relation to their public image roles and endorser effectiveness. Therefore, methodological approaches will be detailed and results will be discussed in order for a scaling instrument to be developed to assist advertising practitioners in assessing endorser risk and identifying questionable elements of a sports hero's public image.

## Chapter 2

### *Literature Review*

Broadly speaking, social cognition is the study of how people interpret, retrieve, and process information in their social environments (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Based on its name, it is understandable that the significance of social cognition rests in its aim to link social behaviour and cognitive development while explaining the juxtaposition of social with non-social, and thinking with behaving (Shantz, 1983). Attitude formation has a clear correlation with social cognition as the process of forming an attitude involves both internal (non-social) and external (social) factors. Ajzen (1988, p. 4) defines an attitude as “a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event”. That response to an individual may be the result of exposure to and/or acceptance of societal stereotypes.

### *Stereotypes.*

Social norms differ among cultures, with racism being a prevalent issue in some countries. In the US in 2000, for example, the 281,421,906 person population was comprised of five identified ethnic groups, the second largest ethnic group being the black population (US Census Bureau, 2000). A common stereotype within the US is that black athletes are less intelligent but more naturally athletic than their white counterparts and are consequently labelled as lazy, due to the lack of need to practice given their natural talents (Sailes, 1996). Hamilton and Sherman (1994) defined stereotypes from a cognitive approach as “abstract knowledge structures linking a social group to a set of traits or behavio[u]ral characteristics” (p. 3). Cultural stereotypes are detrimental to the attitude forming process given that attitudes are difficult to change once formed (Sherif & Cantril, 1947), enabling racism to be carried from one generation to the next.

Such is the case with whites versus blacks in Western society. For instance, while blacks are the second largest ethnic group in the US, they are still very much a minority compared to the 82% white population. Consequently, when the majority (white Americans)

form beliefs about a minority group or out group (black Americans), those beliefs translate into a stereotype (Lombardo, 1978) based on undesirable qualities (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996). The underlying potential damage that accompanies stereotypes is clear.

Stereotypes are commonly thought to be negative, but discrimination is not the motivation behind stereotyping. One purpose of stereotyping is to ease cognitive processing (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996) by simplifying the information-processing load (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994). As explained by Blair, Judd and Fallmann (2004), “One first categori[s]es an individual into a specific category and then infers what the person is like on the basis of the stereotypes associates with the category” (p. 763). Being able to categorise can enhance effective communication with that individual, particularly when basing a categorisation on an accurate stereotype. Unfortunately, not all stereotypes are accurate representations of reality; hence, stereotypes are potentially erroneous and detrimental to societal harmony when improperly applied.

This damage is evident throughout history as white males have been culturally dominant and therefore have become the societal norm (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994). Foreignness has historically been perceived as a threat (Honig, 2001, as cited in Butterworth, 2008); accordingly, white males established themselves as the basis for which to compare others’ salient characteristics. Even as recent as the 2004 Athens Olympics, US television viewers were exposed to media focused on athletes fitting the white male majority (Billings & Angelini, 2007).

As a result of comparing racial attributes, two stereotypes for blacks originated in the US: the brute and the Sambo (Lombardo, 1978). It is the Sambo stereotype that fostered the misconception of blacks being labelled as lazy. The combination of the Sambo with the dumb jock stereotype led to the current view of blacks as intellectually inferior but athletically superior (Sailes, 1996). But that does not explain the motivation behind the formation of a



negative black stereotype. Certainly, population is a factor given the significant numerical divide. Nonetheless, Lombardo (1978) claimed the development of negative stereotypes against blacks took place to ensure they held their position of lower members of the US society. Whatever the reason for its formation, the negative black stereotype still remains and continues to be passed from one generation to the next.

In combination with cultural beliefs shaping stereotypes, media perception plays a role in perpetuating these common conceptions of racial and gender groups. According to Hamilton and Sherman (1994), stereotypes are first learned in the home and are subsequently fostered by repeated portrayals of character representations enforcing social conceptions of ethnic groups in the media. For example, Eastman and Billings (2001) demonstrated that sports broadcasters described black basketball players in regards to their natural athletic prowess whereas white players were noted for their effort and intellectual skill. Similarly, Rada and Wulemeyer (2005) noted a distinguish in the characteristics used to describe black versus white athletes from sports announcers, further propagating the negative black stereotype. This is not surprising given the white male domination of sports broadcast announcers (Thomas, 1996). As these portrayals of social groups continue, the further the persuasiveness of the stereotypes becomes. Therefore, the more cemented a stereotype is, presumably the longer lasting its influence (Sherif & Cantril, 1947). If racism is part of a culture's ideology, it will affect that culture's members as humans are influenced by a society's established social parameters (Sherif & Cantril, 1947). Consequently, generalisations are applied to a specific group and its members' actions are believed to confirm the well-known societal stereotype of that group. Perhaps if more black individuals were employed in influential media roles, the spread of the negative black athlete stereotype would be lessened.

While stereotyping does occur on a broad scale culturally, it can also take place on an individual level by both the assessor and the assessed. The application of stereotypes on the individual level can be based on actions and/or physical features, and similar to attitudes, once a stereotype has been applied, it is difficult to negate (Blair et al., 2004). For example, Australian cricketer Andrew Symonds was the victim of racial abuse from Indian fans as they taunted him with monkey-like jeers (Lalor, 2008, October 12), expressing a derogatory stereotype of blacks based on physical appearance. Fiske and Taylor (1991) explained it as “once a person is categori[s]ed as black or white, male or female, young or old, the stereotypic content of the schema is likely to apply regardless of how much or how little the person looks like the typical category member” (p. 121). Stereotypes can be applied via two types of stereotyping: category-based and feature-based (Blair et al., 2004). Feature-based stereotyping takes place when categorisation occurs based on facial features. This is a form of stereotyping that transpires at the individual level as the perceiver stereotypes members to varying degrees depending on the severity of the features matching the group’s perceived typical physical attributes (Blair et al., 2004). Obviously, race is a characteristic that factors when assigning individuals to a group.

Tiger Woods, a leading professional golfer, is a prime example of an athlete who is stereotyped to varying degrees given his biracial background. His mixture of white, black, Indian and Asian backgrounds (Nordlinger, 2001) has led to confusion among sports commentators. Previous research (Billings, 2004; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Rada, 1996; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005) has demonstrated that sports commentators describe athletes using characteristics that align with typical racial stereotypes. A study by Billings (2003) examined the media’s portrayal of Woods and found that sports commentators assigned both white and black stereotypes to Woods depending on his success. In other words, when he was winning he received comments typical of white athletes in regards to his character,

demeanour and commitment; however, when he was not winning he received comments to reinforce the typical black stereotype of being naturally athlete. Certainly this serves as a key example of an athlete being stereotyped on his features representing a racial group.

The varying degree of stereotypes applied to Woods is expected given his biracial background, but for Michael Jordan, a legendary black basketball sports hero, the variation is more complex. Media representations of Jordan almost serve as juxtaposition to the physically and sexually aggressive, unintelligent black stereotype (McDonald, 1996). For example, in commercials advertising Hanes underwear Jordan's body is displayed, but in a modest manner. So while his physic is a focus that still enforces the naturally athletic stereotype, his modesty is a deviation from the believed social norm of blacks. Unfortunately, even this variation in assigning degrees of stereotypes has led to prejudice and the perpetuation of incorrect racial labels, and even with Jordan's effort to alter the black stereotype, black athletes in print advertisements continue to be qualified by their natural athletic ability (Dufur, 1997).

Majority stereotypes influence individual attitude formation in regards to black athletes as the stereotypes are mentally stored and retrieved as needed for processing of judgments. Social judgments are made based on attitudes, or beliefs, emotions and behaviours (Petty, Priester, & Wegener, 1994), with stereotypes being components of attitudes given that they are beliefs about a particular group. These mental stereotyping files translate when accessed to construct social judgments based on behaviour. As a result, the correlation between judgment formation and stereotypes is unmistakable. One theory which is classified under social cognition is Social Judgment Theory based on its involvement and explanation of attitudes. Undoubtedly, Social Judgment Theory serves as an engine for stereotypes to be propagated.

*Social Judgment Theory*

Social Judgment Theory explains attitudes in relation to acceptance or rejection. The theory “classifie[s] attitudes along a continuum...divided into latitudes of acceptance or rejection” (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003, p. 172). An issue falls into the latitude of acceptance when the individual finds it acceptable. Conversely, when an individual believes an issue is unacceptable it falls into the latitude of rejection category. Latitudes vary depending on topics and an individual’s views about those topics (Wilson, 1992). As such, every attitude has its own unique latitude width. As ego involvement increases, the latitude of acceptance width decreases given one’s passion towards the topic and belief in one’s stance being correct (Wilson, 1992). The decrease of the acceptance width indicates the individual’s unwillingness to change the attitude or position one has assumed on the latitude of acceptance/rejection spectrum.

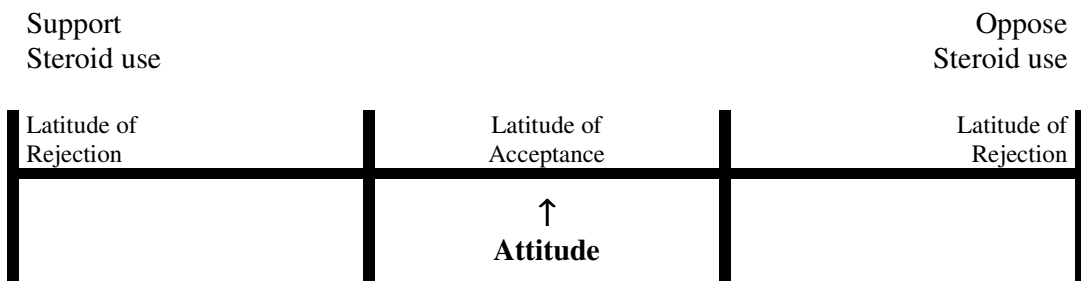
Ego involvement plays a role in attitude formation and change in that it is indicative of an individual’s commitment to an issue (Freedman, 1964). An extreme attitude positioned at the end of either side of the latitude of acceptance/rejection spectrum is a clear indication of a high level of ego-involvement, markedly suggestive of one’s interest in and opinion of the particular topic. Traditionally once attitudes are formed they are difficult to change (Sherif & Cantril, 1947). According to the belief by Sherif and Hovland (1961), if feelings about a topic are negative, they will never be converted into positive sentiments. Adding to that, once attitudes are changed, the level of ego involvement increases (Rhine & Polowniak, 1971). As a result, the higher the level of ego involvement, the more rigid the position of the attitude on the latitude spectrum. These unyielding attitudes are undesirable, particularly from the stance of advertising practitioners and endorsers.

Ideally, the latitude of acceptance lies directly in the middle of the spectrum for a moderate attitude (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003), as demonstrated in Figure 1. As opposing views

sit at opposite ends of the continuum, having an attitude in the middle of the continuum suggests that there is equal opportunity for the attitude to be swayed to either side. However, when an individual is passionate about an issue, the latitude of acceptance moves along the spectrum towards either extreme (see Figure 2).

Figure 1

*A Latitude of Acceptance in the Middle of the Spectrum Indicates a Moderate View Towards Suggesting the Attitude may Remain Uninfluenced by a Cloud of Suspicion*

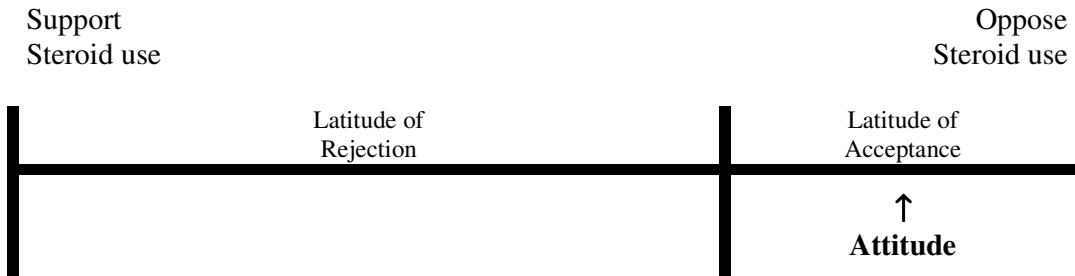


(adapted from Stiff & Mongeau, 2003, p. 172)

Not all attitudes are dispassionate or neutral. In the situation presented in Figure 2, an attitude is much less willing to change than in the situation presented in Figure 1 because the latitude of acceptance is located at the end of the spectrum, thereby limiting the attitude's range of motion to one direction. The attitude's position in Figure 1 is the desired position because it allows for some degree of persuasive change in either direction (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003).

Figure 2

*An Individual's Whose Attitude is Positioned at the End of the Spectrum Would Have a Strong Negative Reaction Against an Athlete Under a Cloud of Suspicion as the Individual Strongly Opposes Steroid Use*



(adapted from Stiff & Mongeau, 2003, p. 173)

The position of attitudes on the continuum are established by previous experiences (Wilson, 1992), cues taken from an environment (Cooksey, 1996), and cultural differences (Ybarra & Stephan, 1999). As Sherif and Cantril (1947) indicated, cues can be subjective and problematic given that individuals process and note different cues within their environments. Cooksey (1996) agreed, observing that environmental cues being perceived are dependent on the individual as two separate people sharing an environment can cognitively process different cues. The cultural environment is indicative of individuals' positioning of anchor points towards social issues. For example, Ybarra and Stephan (1999) proposed that "people from Eastern collectivistic cultures regard positive behavior[s] as being more likely than do people from a Western individualistic culture (the US)" (p. 723). This processing of episodes to generate an attitude can be applied to individual evaluations (Susskind, Maurer, Thakkar, Hamilton, & Sherman, 1999).

For an established sports hero, for example, the majority of the audience attitudes would be extreme and positioned towards the support end of the spectrum because of idolising from fans and pedestal of values in which the hero is placed (Shuart, 2007). A fan is categorised by identification with and a perceived ownership of a team or athlete (Surin,

2006). When the audience has no prior information regarding an athlete before learning of that athlete's cloud of suspicion, an audience member's attitude could be formed simply based on the persuasive message presented by the media suggesting that steroids have been used. Unfortunately for that athlete, once an attitude has been formed, it is difficult to change, perhaps due to the implemented structure of society in its desire to eliminate uncertainties.

Human beings exist in a world centred around order and predictability, and expect fellow human beings' behaviours to be consistent (Ross & Nisbett, 1991). Plaks, Grant and Dweck (2005) explained that the general idea behind the desire for predictability is due to the unpredictable nature of society. Realistically, the social world in itself is highly unpredictable which leads individuals to attempt to stabilise their lives by adding predictability. Not surprisingly, attitudes have historically been considered consistent and stable. For instance, Sherif and Cantril (1947) alleged that "attitudes, once formed, are more or less enduring states of readiness" (p. 22). When pairing this suggestion with Social Judgment Theory, Sherif and Hovland (1961) indicated that there is a limited range in which an individual's attitude can be positioned to make up his or her latitude of acceptance. However, not all researchers agree with the traditional view of the stability of attitudes.

A new approach to attitudes emerged in which attitude construction was claimed to use a more erratic process. Unlike Sherif, who claimed attitudes are stable and remain unchanged even over a span of years, Wilson (1992) believed attitudes can vary depending on a number of factors, including emotions and supplied information. The authors argued that each individual has a mental file in which he or she can draw from in order to form an attitude. This file includes behaviour, mood, and pre-established (often contradictory) beliefs about the topic in which the attitude is trying to be constructed. With all of these resources readily available, the problem lies in that an individual rarely utilises the entire mental file. While on the one hand the new approach to attitudes does identify with attitudes being more

“temporary constructions,” on the other hand, it does agree with the tradition view that “under some conditions people do have pre-packaged attitudes that do not have to be generated on the spot” (Wilson, 1992, p. 40). In other words, in these instances attitudes remain stable and unchanging.

Though the traditional view towards attitudes has been modified, the core focus of attitude formation remains an important basis for the more modern approach. Broadening on the historical view of attitude formation, Wilson and Hodges expanded on previous literature rather than disregarding it. For example, while Carlston and Skowronski (1986) argued that attitude formation of others can be memory-based or immediate, and Brown (1986) likened the impression of personality to a new dossier in which information will be stored, Wilson and Hodges (1992) progressed that concept into a more complex system which explains previous experiences as being stored in multiple mental files. The prominence of these previous experiences will dictate which memories are drawn upon as indicators in attitude formation. Those located in more easily accessible mental files are more likely to be utilised. Similarly, easily accessible previously set attitudes are more likely to be used rather than processing new information to develop a new attitude (Wilson, 1992). Clearly, the progression of Social Judgment Theory can be attributed to the expansion on traditional views regarding attitude formation.

However, there are instances in which the most easily accessible information is not necessarily the most pertinent information processed when expressing an attitude. For example, the set/reset model takes into account that information can be accessed from different avenues in order for the judgment process to occur. Martin and Achee (1992) described the process of the set/reset model as being that “[p]eople sift through their thoughts and feelings and attempt to partial the relevant from the irrelevant” (p. 203). When examining the set/reset model it is important to note that individuals can be influenced by outside



factors, even on a subconscious level (Martin & Achee, 1992). Again, ego involvement may play a factor in that interest in an issue can generate better memory retrieval of stimuli, according to Bartlett (1932). When this occurs and individuals identify inappropriate information rather than appropriate information, relevancy then becomes the most important factor, in replacement of accessibility (Bartlett, 1932). The inconsistent (or most easy accessible) information is still used for cognitive processing, but not for interpretation; instead, it is used for comparison, which usually results in the judgment away from the inconsistent and towards the appropriate (Sherif & Hovland, 1961). Higher levels of ego involvement lead to deeper cognitive processing as there is more information in the mental files to compare inconsistency with consistency.

Importantly, identifying inconsistent behaviour through cognitive processing is subjective. For example, individuals differ in what characteristics they deem important when making a judgment, which can explain differing views in regards to steroid use among sports heroes. Martin's study (1986) suggested that the interpretation of behaviour will differ depending on external and internal factors that serves as a means of priming the individual. Priming occurs when individuals are prepared consciously or subconsciously for a situation or topic with general expectations in mind (Herr, 1986). Given that influencing external and internal factors include events or situations that have recently occurred, emotions, mood and accessibility to mental files, the response when affected by one or more of these factors could differ to a response when an individual has been unaffected. Primed information then potentially serves as an individual's frame of reference, or starting position, depending on previous exposure to the situation. As Sherif and Cantril (1947) explained, "The term 'frame of reference' is simply used to denote the functionally related factors (present and past) which operate at the moment to determine the particular properties of a psychological phenomenon (such as perception, judgment, affectivity)" (p. 34). Once primed with media exposure to

steroid allegations, that particular situation is then used as the frame of reference from which to measure all subsequent allegations. Sports fans and consumers have been exposed to some degree of priming in regards to steroid use among athletes through media exposure.

Certainly the MLB is an example of a sporting organisation whose athletes have been affected by the media priming effect. In fact, the sport as a whole now exists under a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use among its athletes (Denham, 2004). Perhaps the athlete to face the most serious consequences as a result of steroid allegations and subsequent confirmation is Barry Bonds. It is estimated that his affiliation with steroids has cost him \$10US million in endorsements, conceivably in conjunction with his title as the least liked athlete in the MLB during the 2007 season (Gaffney, 2007, June 1). Clearly, the media priming of steroid use has detrimentally impacted Bonds's financial earnings.

After steroid use having confirmed, 46% of fans believed Bonds should be elected into the Baseball Hall of Fame (Gaffney, 2007, June 1). Less than one year later, Roger Clemens, another baseball player of sports hero status came under extreme steroid allegations courtesy of the government-funded Mitchell Report investigation (Duff, 2008, January 19). While Clemens has vehemently denied any wrongdoing, most baseball fans believe he is lying (Associated Press, 2008, February 27), yet surprisingly, 62% of fans still support his eventual election to the Hall of Fame. That 6% difference between the two athletes not only demonstrates the, in this case, beneficial effects of priming for Clemens in softening the harshness in fans' reactions, but also emphasises the importance of an audience's perception of the athlete's public image.

### *Person Perception*

Perception in human communication and psychology is the "process by which [individuals] make sense of and understand [themselves] and others" (Tyler, Kossen, & Ryan, 2005, p. 26).

Therefore, person perception, one aspect of social cognition, would suggest the audience's perception of the athlete will be multifaceted with audience evaluations being memory-based or immediate (Fiske & Taylor, 1991) as the audience analyses its opinion of a given athlete. When the audience makes memory-based judgments regarding the athlete, it is based on the information previously presented through the media. Thereafter, Fiske and Taylor (1991) argue that each audience member forms an attitude towards the athlete and it is the attitude that audience members will later recall when thinking about the athlete rather than any specific information previously learned about him. Conversely, impressions regarding an athlete may also be immediate, without any prior information (Fiske & Taylor, 1991).

The link between opinion formation of athletes and the process of perception is clear when taking into account the role of the media. The public forms opinions based on societal norms (Ross & Nisbett, 1991), with the media serving as vessels through which the norms are carried and perpetuated (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994). When athletes are presented to the audience by the media, the opinions formed about those athletes are subject to media provided information. When a viewer is exposed to a celebrity through the media that viewer seeks to form an impression of that celebrity's personality (Mensch & Wishner, 1947). Individuals form impressions of others based on traits deducted from behaviour (Newman & Uleman, 1989), or inferred actions and behaviours given that attitudes and traits are not visible (Ajzen, 1988). These inferred traits relate to personality. For example, if a viewer were to infer a guilty impression of a sports hero based on a story of alleged steroid accusations, the personality trait being applied to the accused athlete would be dishonesty. Similar to Social Judgment Theory, ego involvement can also play a role in person perception in that an individual may seek "to evaluate [another person] on particular traits" because of a vested interest in that individual (Newman & Uleman, 1989, p. 155). Certainly this process is evident in sports heroes acquiring fan followings.

Not all consumers are sports fans, yet having the status of a fan is not needed for an impression about an athlete under media scrutiny to be formed. It is this group of consumers who are of concern to advertising practitioners when an athlete endorser is presented negatively in the media because the initial impression becomes the anchor point for the viewer's latitude of acceptance, setting the precedent for all subsequent evaluations. For athletes accused of steroid use, the impact of these allegations could be significantly detrimental to the opinion forming process by the audience given that individuals seek predictability in their environments (Plaks et al., 2005) and want to believe a person has consistent character traits (Newman & Uleman, 1989). The danger of this media exposure to non-sports fans is that without prior knowledge of an athlete, media viewers make spontaneous trait inferences on the accused athlete based on the presented information. Spontaneous trait inferences are unintentionally formed conclusions regarding the presented individual (Newman & Uleman, 1989). Given that social norms oppose steroid use (Carstairs, 2003), the media portrayal of an athlete as an alleged steroid user is potentially damaging to the athlete's fan support. Furthermore, a study by Ybarra, Schaberg and Kieper (1999) claimed that negative information about a person is more likely to be accepted than positive information. The media exposure becomes more detrimentally consequential when taking into account viewers' abilities to more easily assess an individual's behaviour than a group of individuals' behaviour (Susskind et al., 1999). Susskind et al. (1999) study suggested that when the media presents an athlete as under steroid allegations the viewer is more readily able to form a judgment regarding the athlete's behaviour than that viewer would be able to a group of athletes. Consequently, when the audience has little information about the athlete in question except the surrounding steroid accusations, audience members may tend to keep a consistent opinion of the athlete and allow the steroid speculation to be the basis of their opinions.

Media focus on scandal is common, yet was not the intention of media in its formation. Mass communication focuses on the large-scale dissemination of information, with each form of media possessing its own purpose of dispensing information to the public (McQuail, 2005). Media specifically associated with reporting news and information are expected to provide “reliable and relevant information” (McQuail, 2005, p. 194). That broad scope of freedom provides opportunity to report on scandal, though athletes involved may argue otherwise. In fact, sports journalism as a profession is criticised for its lack of ethics in the content reported (Oates & Pauly, 2008). However, while sports journalism may be lacking in legitimacy of topics, Oates and Pauly (2008) argue that it does succeed in providing cultural benefits of identification and even national pride. Lenk (1976) furthers this by suggesting that sport offers spectators a culture of its own, fostered by its broadcasts via mass media. This identification and support is a particularly relevant advantage for Olympic athletes representing their respective countries.

The pairing of mass media and sport is a dual dependent relationship, with the media’s attention on sport boosting sport’s popularity while increasing media’s sales and revenues (McChesney, 1989). The presentation of sport in the media fosters both personal and national identification among devoted fans and media consumers. For example, after World War I the Australian print media explained and interpreted sport for readers, and in doing so, legitimated the worth of reporting sporting content by generating national interest (Cashman, 2002). While Oates and Pauly (2008) claim that sports journalists are currently criticised for contributing morally lacking or unimportant content, Cashman (2002) explains that the validation in the occupation lies in its influence of legitimising sport, boosting newspaper sales, and contributing to the appeal of illustrated press. Regardless of the deterioration of the profession’s credibility, public interest in the athletes has grown.

As athletes' popularity grows, so too does the question over their privacy rights. Lines (2001) claimed that fans are as familiar with athletes' personal lives as they are with their athletic performances. They are embraced for being champions as much as they are for their personalities, their abilities to influence fans and their selflessness in supporting a team or community (Klapp, 1962). Consequently, athletes are being judged on their behaviour on and off the field. Since societal norms have established sports heroes as possessing a number of valiant traits, including being morally exemplary and maintaining a high level of sportsmanship (Keating, 2001), Lines (2001) argued that athletes should then be held accountable for all of their actions both personally and athletically. Certainly, it seems the simplest way to ensure that media consumers form positive perceptions of athlete is for those athletes to uphold behaviour in support of cultural beliefs; therefore, athletes should provide fans with positive role models.

However, even athletes in which the audience members have positive opinions about are exposed to the risk of those opinions changing based on media exposure. While Newman and Uleman (1989) believed individuals disregard inconsistent information, Susskind et al. (1999) argued that inconsistencies may receive more attention than consistencies because of a focus on processing and establishing the underlying motives, therefore making inconsistent behaviour more memorable than consistent behaviour. Gilbert's study (1999) contradicted this belief in that it suggested individuals accept received information as automatically correct rather than questioning its legitimacy. If this were the case then favourable information would be readily accepted, an idea that has been discounted by previous studies (Newman & Uleman, 1989; Susskind et al., 1999; Ybarra et al., 1999) and that would support the more primitive argument of superficial cognitive processing (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). As a result, athletes with well-established positive public images have the potential of being negatively affected by steroid allegations since the unfavourable media attention would leave

a lasting impression in the minds of consumers. However, attitudes towards an accused athlete are also dependent on individual views and values towards the support of steroid use as well as the individual's environment. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that judgment formation is affected by a combination of internal and external factors.

### *Digital media.*

New media has impacted the person perception process in relation to media exposure. As a result of its interactive nature, users are able to personalise their searches on Web 2.0 by specifically seeking specialised information and providing commentary in online venues. New media is the result of a convergence, or coming together, of three main components: communications networks, computing and information technology (IT), and media content converted to the digital format (Flew, 2005). Similarly, Van Dijk (2006) referred to new media as the union of telecommunications, data communications and mass communications, resulting in what is known as multimedia. More specifically, he refers to new media as “media which are both integrated and interactive and also use digital code” (2006, p. 9), allowing for a participative culture. In other words, new media is the differentiation of digital media from the traditional media, such as radio, print media and television (Hirst & Harrison, 2007).

However, new media and traditional media are not mutually exclusive; instead, new and old media overlap with the assistance of the Internet. Therefore, rather than traditional media becoming obsolete, traditional media and new media maintain a complementary relationship. Jenkins (2006) refers to this pairing as convergence, or the blending of different media technologies to operate under one vessel. Additionally, Jenkins (2006) claims convergence to be brainstorming for future innovations, or “an old concept taking on new meanings” (p. 6). For example, radio has been digitised through podcasting, which has the

ability to combine audio with visual to be downloaded via the Internet (Hirst & Harrison, 2007). With access to the Internet users can view or listen to a podcast via a computer or portable device, such as an iPod (Abreu, Tamura, Sipp, Keamy Jr, & Eavey, 2008).

The potential of the iPod's influence on societal norms is obvious when taking into consideration that ninety million iPods had been sold by the end of 2006 (Jobs, 2007, February 6). Even universities have even begun to accept the educational benefits of podcasting. For instance, a number of US and European universities have recorded lectures and made them available for download via a free iTunes academic service online ("UK university lectures on iTunes," 2008, June 3). Given the increasingly popular trend of engaging in interactive media (Tucker, 2007), the almost customary companionship between new and old media is expected. In fact, it is common for traditional media, such as a newspaper, to have an online version that can be found on Web 2.0.

Web 2.0 is an integral concept associated with new media because of its interactive capabilities. Rather than the one-way communication of traditional media, Web 2.0 is centred around the Internet user by focusing on the "human aspects of interactivity" (Abram, 2008, p. 20) and encourages more freedom for interpersonal communication and identification (Soukup, 2006) via social networks and communities. This freedom allows for computer-mediated communication (CMC) rather than face-to-face communication, offering an interactive and social aspect to new media (Van Dijk, 2006). According to Flew (2005), interactivity is essential to understanding new media because interactive media reflects and responds to information. This ability to contribute user-generated content encourages personalisation from the user, even when simply conducting keyword searches through search engine web sites such as Google. Undoubtedly, new media creates a new world in which boundaries are invisible (Sanders, 2008).



Digital media allows users to filter and rearrange information to suit their particular desires, interests and needs (Soukup, 2006). As explained by McQuail (2005), this freedom of new media marks a transformation in the flow of information from the traditional news outlets to the public. Flew (2005) concurred, saying that Web 2.0 eliminates the public's reliance on traditional media, instead encouraging users to engage in many-to-many communication and actively seek out information. This freedom to explore and actively contribute marks a change from mass broadcasting to individualised narrowcasting.

Unfortunately, with this active participation comes varying levels of user sophistication since not all users are able to critically evaluate information published on the internet. Fan sites allow users to choose the portrayed characteristics desired to express emotions regarding a celebrity and invite allow fans to interactively contribute (Soukup, 2006). Accordingly, as expertise in self-publishing improves, evaluating amateur information becomes increasingly difficult (Loertscher, 2008). Therefore, once an individual is exposed to a traditional media exposure of an alleged steroid using athlete, an initial spontaneous inference is made (Newman & Uleman, 1989) and can dictate the direction of the user's search for more information in regards to that athlete. The hazard for athletes under steroid speculation presents itself when incorrect harmful information is accessible by Web 2.0 users and that information is processed when forming a perception. As Ross and Nisbett (1991) explained, Sherif's argument states information needs not to be truthful in order to be influential, it simply needs to be consistent. Search engines narrow the user's exposure to overall media by allowing the user to customise exposure and choose stories in support his or her interest (Craig, 2005). Therefore, if the user seeks out and is consistently reading incorrect and damaging information against the accused athlete, a negative attitude will likely be formed as a result.

Once opinions have been formed, new media in the form of forums and blogs allow for freedom of user expression. Forums and blogs are simply web pages that embrace the characteristics of Web 2.0 and operate under software that allows users to actively participate and communicate via CMC (Flew, 2008). One such example of a sports-based web page with Web 2.0 elements is Baseball Fever which offers the user a digital vault comprised of potential forums in which to contribute opinions. Understandably, given the recent developments of steroid scandals in baseball with the publishing of the Mitchell Report, Roger Clemens and other athletes under clouds of steroid suspicion had been discussed through forum posts. For example, one user expressed in regards to Clemens's allegations, "Who cares? [The] guy was and still [is] good to the game" (Baseball Fever, 2008, ¶ 2). Clearly, the cloud of suspicion has had no effect on that user's disposition to the accused. However, not all posts are as positive.

One way in which this misconstruing of information can be transferred from user to user is through social networking sites and social forums, demonstrating how digital media is shifting the process of person perception from merely traditional media exposure to include Web 2.0 publishers. The low cost of publishing on Web 2.0 can allow virtually any user to become an author (Hirst & Harrison, 2007), but in doing so, has interposed on "journalism's traditional focus and practices" (p. 239). According to Conley (2002), this puts pressure on traditionally trained journalists to uphold the profession's credibility as more user-published content means that digital media consumers rely less on traditional media providers. While journalists have a code of ethics by which they are required to abide (McQuail, 2005), legally internet publishers must also maintain a level of professionalism, but the ability to communicate anonymously or change content makes monitoring difficult (Flew, 2005).

The overflow of traditional media into new media was evident on a baseball forum within the City-Data web page. In one post, a user first included the link to a news article

before publishing a post stating, “I hope they send the whole lot of them that cheated to jail” (City-Data Forum, 2008, ¶ 1). While forum and blog postings do nothing to clarify the guilt or innocence of allegations, they do succeed in enhancing the cloud of suspicion through users’ expressions of beliefs. However, for users who have yet to establish a stance on the cloud of suspicion, these expressions can be influential in their person perception processing for the accused athlete.

The development of publishing on the internet proves problematic with rules and regulations as Web 2.0 is a global communication tool and a worldwide set of laws for internet usage is challenging and awkward as regulation varies by country enforcement (Flew, 2005). However, as McQuail (2005) pointed out, while administering more internet regulation can be done, doing so would almost contradict the openness that Web 2.0 embodies. The lack of content regulation in combination with the lack of sophistication on behalf of digital media users in terms of differentiating between amateur and credible sources suggests that the matter of publishing biased or skewed claims towards athletes becomes significant. Now, not only are steroid allegations delivered through traditional media influential, but so are accusations published by amateurs on Web 2.0.

While the interactive element of Web 2.0 does present problems, it can also be a positive tool in the person perception process. For example, after a traditional media exposure regarding an athlete under steroid accusations, media consumers may be motivated to actively seek out more information about the allegations and the athlete before passing judgment of guilt or innocence. McQuail (2005) described new media as a user’s “person[al] newspaper” (p. 158) because of the ability to choose particular information. In essence, the user is deciding what he or she wants to be informed about. Furthermore, the user can choose to communicate with fellow users with similar beliefs, for instance through a web site dedicated to a sports hero that allows users to interact. For example, a web page entitled We

are the Post Men (2008, January 7) headlined a post with “Clemens has at least one fan left”. Readers supported with comments like “I support Roger Clemens!!! I believe he has not used drugs or HGH. He is a man of hono[u]r and integrity” (§ 19) and “Roger is the man!!! Our media has nothing better to do than try to tear down all of our hero’s” (§ 22). This form of interacting demonstrates how communities can form comprised of globally members, thereby eliminating the constraints of time and space (McQuail, 2005). However, as Web 2.0 enables the cultivation of fandom and identification among fans towards sports team in general, and towards individual athletes, more specifically, the issue of user sophistication remains a limitation.

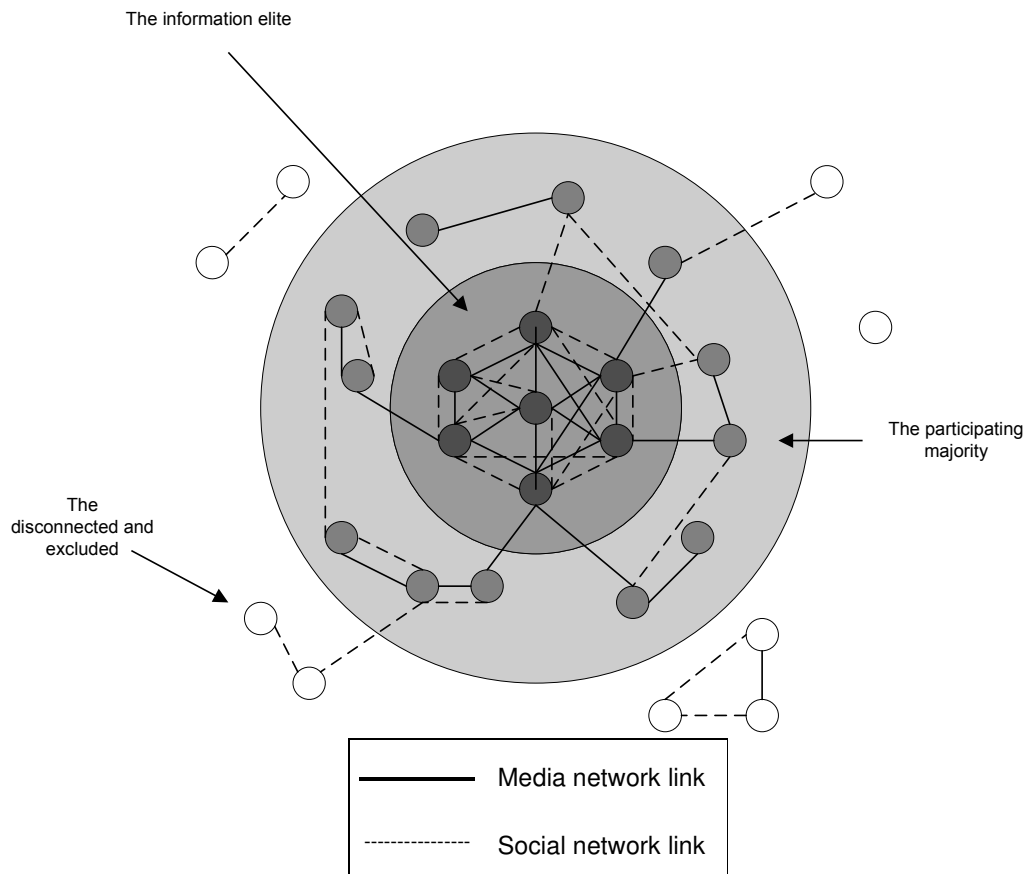
Athlete or team identification and fandom can flourish with the aid of social networking, or the interconnectedness of different nodes (users) to simultaneously pass communication freely and openly (Castells, 1996). Through the use of particular sites and online forums, users can express their identification with an athlete endorser by digitally conversing with fellow supporters. This identification occurs when a fan perceives that he or she and the athlete share a similarity (Fisher, 1998). With the development of new media, fans are able to share and publish their support for the athlete online. Therefore, it can be assumed that communication regarding the athlete on a site fostering fan support would be positive. If the user seeking information regarding an alleged athlete is unable to identify the site as containing user-generated content over reputable sources on other sites, that positively affect the user’s perception of the athlete, from the standpoint of the accused athlete endorser. Conversely, a site could detrimentally influence the perception of the athlete if its content is critical of the accused.

Even with the increasing popularity of new media, it has not completely replaced traditional media. Instead, a network society comprised of three particular levels indicating new media participation exists to demonstrate the digital divide (Van Dijk, 2006), even

within developed, internet-using countries. Flew (2008) discusses digital divide in accordance to access and use of the Internet as a result of varying demographic and socio-economic factors. For example, Hirst and Harrison (2007) explained that particular groups within the Australian population, for instance Indigenous persons and older sectors' members of the community, are resistant to embracing the functions of the Internet. Importantly, financial factors are not the only influences in Internet acceptance, as demonstrated through the elder Australian population's opposition. Therefore, Van Dijk (2006) created a three-party arrangement of participant groups in the network society, or the social and media infrastructure of information exchange, including the elite, the majority and the excluded. This tri-level division is interpreted in Figure 3. The centre-most group is comprised of the most educated members of a developed society with high levels of media literacy, resulting in the greatest access to new media and social links for educational and personal purposes (Van Dijk, 2006). Following the information elite is the majority population who have decreased media literacy skills than the elite members and therefore, have a decreased level of media and social links (Van Dijk, 2006). Finally, the network society excludes societal members without access to the Internet thereby hindering the diffusion of new media, instead relying on traditional media information to be communicated (Van Dijk, 2006).

Figure 3

*The Majority of a Developed Society's Members' New Media Skills Allocate Them to the Second out of Three Levels because of an Interest in the Internet for Personal Use*



Adapted from Van Dijk (2006, p. 186)

For new media users, traditional and new media maintain a complementary relationship. Access to textual, visual and audible information is readily available providing users are active members within the network society (Sanders, 2008). Although new media transcends time and space to create a new world in which boundaries are invisible, for those excluded from the network society, their locations may be limiting their ability to interact online, and marginalising them further (Sanderson, 2008). For excluded and disconnected members of the network society, traditional media remains the primary informant source.

As traditional media is a factor in all three groups' media exposure, a newspaper article was utilised in the operationalisation process for Study 1. The influence of new media cannot be discounted. Therefore, new media was included within Study 2 in order to achieve ecological validity by presenting information in a manner reflective of the participants' media literacy skills (Sarantakos, 2005). Clearly, the influence of the media, both new and traditional, on the person perception process of an accused sports hero is multi-faceted and extensive no matter the level of the network society in which a consumer is classified.

## Chapter 3

### *Concept Explication*



The conceptualisation process is a fundamental aspect in developing a quantitative research study. One step within methodological development is concept explication. Importantly, concepts allow for organisation and classification to be defined (Chaffee, 1991). With this process concepts are defined specifically and accurately (Sarantakos, 2005) to the issue being investigated (Babbie, 2007). More significantly, concepts provide a linkage between common perceptions and theories being tested (Chaffee, 1991) in order to create research questions and develop hypotheses. Once definitions have been established, limitations are created to observe and measure the concept (Chaffee, 1991) as set by operational definitions. Research questions, therefore, bridge the concept explication and the methodology; when applicable based on the literature, hypotheses can be made. Accordingly, four concepts are discussed with corresponding research questions and hypotheses.

### *Sports Hero*

Media play a significant role in cultivating sports heroes by fostering the association between hero and sport (Rollin, 1983). Sports heroes are athletes who are recognised for their heightened athletic skills (Stevens et al., 2003) by participating in sport at the professional or Olympic level and who are advertised as role models by the media (Goodman et al., 2002). For instance, popular media, such as books (Nastasi, 1995) and movies (Scheurer, 2005), perpetuate the association of an athlete as a hero. However, this is a variation on the origin of a hero.

The word hero does not originate from sport. Instead, a hero in ancient Greece was an individual identified as possessing extraordinary human qualities, such as strength and bravery (Fishwick, 1985), usually pertaining to a warrior (Goodman et al., 2002). The contemporary definition of hero is now linked to great athletes who are “immortali[s]ed in the minds of adults and children alike for their superior skills and abilities” (Jones & Schumann,

2000, p. 65). For example, Nike depicted the symbolism of athletes as warriors in a billboard advertisement featuring European soccer sports hero Wayne Rooney (see Figure 4). The iconographical qualities of Greek warriors and Roman gladiators displayed in Classical art are reimagined through athletes in contemporary sport performance and displayed to the masses via media broadcasts.

Figure 4

*Nike's Advertisement Featuring Wayne Rooney Symbolised Contemporary Athletes as Being the Modern Greek Warriors*



Whereas in Antiquity marble statues were constructed to represent the ideal muscular body type, current sports heroes are the visual evidence suggesting that the contemporary norm (Rabb & Brown, 1986) still associates the ideal with the muscularity established by the Greeks. But while the hero physically represents the qualities of a warrior, the contemporary sports hero also symbolises the performance of a Roman gladiator, particularly when considering the similarity of modern event venues to that of the Coliseum's arena structure. Interestingly, Roman gladiators are historically considered entertainers rather than athletes due to their lower societal ranking as criminals or slaves (Reid, 2006). The link can be drawn then, between gladiators' competitions and performing arts, a theme mirrored in

contemporary sports as athletes perform for crowds in similar arena venues. Klapp (1962) described an element of a hero as being a splendid performer who performs a remarkable action before a crowd. George (1999, August 24) alleged that professional athletes align themselves as entertainers as evident in their interests in music and movies. The discourse surrounding the role of artistic expression and aesthetic appeal apparent in sport (Eichberg, 2002) reflects the influence of the Roman gladiator entertainer in contemporary athletes. Consequently, the animate athlete has now become art and is a juxtaposition of Greek warrior and Roman gladiator qualities in a contemporary setting.

Even as the definition of hero has evolved to include qualities of an entertainer, the emphasis on athleticism and physicality remains (Fishwick, 1985). Indeed, the influence of bodily appearance is such that physical attractiveness has been demonstrated to affect consumer evaluations of an endorser's perceived effectiveness in promoting products (Till & Busler, 2000). As sports heroes leave the sporting arena for the entertainment industry as endorsers, their bodies need to iconographically represent the societal ideal as advertising campaigns are broadcast to the masses via traditional and new media. Although muscularity is generally accepted as the ideal (Rabb & Brown, 1986), the historical and cultural relevancy of the athletic body crosses national boundaries for political affirmation. Take, for example, Benito Mussolini's manipulation of the purpose of sportsmanship with his insistence on the Italian press reporting him as masculine and physically fit (Spurr, 2003), traditional heroic qualities (Holt, 1999). Similarly, Adolf Hitler often focused on physicality and muscular definition in his desires for the German youth (Spurr, 2003), embracing sport and masculinity as a positive. Clearly, the symbolic interpretation of sport is critical to national identity and portraying the qualities typically associated with heroism as a sports hero can foster national pride.

On a more utilitarian level, athletes' bodies need to be physically fit for competitive reasons in addition to consumers' vanity and national pride. Of course, the degree of accepted muscularity differs by sport. For instance, the evolution of the body towards a more muscular build is evident in American baseball when comparing the slender physique of homerun leaders in the 1950s and 1960s to those of players in the 1990s and 2000s (Denham, 2007). Accompanying the enhanced muscularity are steroid use allegations which claim players consume illegal performance-enhancing substances to have a competitive advantage over their opponents (Schneider, 2007). Baseball players' bodies metaphorically represent the vitality of the US given the sport's status as the American pastime (Butterworth, 2008). The evolution towards a more muscularised physique questions athletes' financial motives in unfairly succeeding as a means of securing performance bonuses (Denham, 2007) and lucrative endorsement deals (Lane, 1996). As a result, the America athletes' enlarged bodies mimic the excessiveness associated with the country.

When considering the contemporary sports hero as an amalgamation of the virtuous Greek warrior athlete and the entertaining Roman gladiator, the pursuit of increased financial compensation is not surprising. Reid (2006) highlights the lack of morality attributed to gladiators and the enhanced monetary fees top competitors demanded for their services. As a loss in gladiator competitions could have resulted in death (Reid, 2006), there was clear incentive for competitors to win at all costs to escape death, even by use of unfair means, and to demand high fees at subsequent competitions. Though sports heroes do partly represent the virtuous Greek, the influence of the Roman gladiator component in the sports hero persona would make the use of anabolic steroids for heightened athletic performance in order to demand higher salaries and endorsements more comprehensible. Yet the link between sports heroes and commercial viability was not always present.

Undeniably, the origin and motivation of sport are highly debated. Some claim the origin of sport was resultant of desired social standings, hence the description of cricket, for instance, being a gentlemen's sport (Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2006). Accordingly, Holt (1999) suggested a sports hero embodies the ethical qualities of a gentleman along with the traditional beliefs of a layperson. Alternatively, others attribute sport's development to work and hunting survival over play (Scambler, 2005). However, while the origin of sport in general is speculative, the origins of particular sports are more easily identified in relation to significant historical contexts. Whatever the origin, consumerism has contributed to the financial evolution of sport.

Cricket is one such example of a sport which was influenced by monetary gains since its inception. For example, while it was the first formalised sport with a rule book and documentation of game results, it was developed as a result of the British aristocracy structure and the aspiration for improved societal standing (Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2006). Even with its inherent Britishness, the popularity of cricket travelled across countries, with each adoptive country adapting the sport to represent its own national image. According to Cashman (2002), sport is an extension of national pride, symbolic of how a country defines itself. However, while cricket may be embraced by a number of countries worldwide, each country portrays a different set of national characteristics through its participation in the sport. As such, the defined sports hero varies from country to country according to cultural beliefs.

Sport serves as a manifestation of physical cultural expression (Eichberg, 2002). The US uses sport to interject its cultural statement of independence, the foundation on which the country was established (Mewett, 1999). As Pope (1997) explained, institutionalised sport acted as a representation of American beliefs and provided discourse to bridge the country's multicultural citizens. Consequently, the US became a homogenized nation (Mewett, 1999)

whose citizens shared the same values and embraced their separateness from Britain. The sport of baseball and its players have become vehicles through which the national identity has been featured (Butterworth, 2008).

Sports are modified to suit a country's cultural beliefs, as was the case of baseball's development in the US. Certainly, baseball was influenced by the same ball and bat games that influenced cricket (Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2006), however, the country's interpretation and adaptation varied, resulting in baseball. Considering Pope's (1997) explanation of organised sport acted as a mechanism to link diverse group of citizens, this variation is fitting considering the origins of the independence-driven, internally-focused establishment of the nation (Gordon, 1964). Accordingly, an American hero is established by financial success as a result of a strong work ethic and integrity (Scheurer, 2005) – an undoubted representation of the 'American dream' (Wenner, 1989b).

However, these qualities do not apply to heroes of all cultures. Instead, Holt (1999) argued that sporting heroes possess qualities representative of their national and social identities in conjunction with the traditional heroic qualities. For instance, the continuance of cricket in Australia, a commonwealth state, is a logical development given the still existing attachment to the British monarchy. However, Cashman (2002) countered that cricket became a form of national identification for Australians.

Acceptance of sports is linked inherently to a nation's identity, with sports heroes being the visual portrayal of a nation's characteristics. For example, Mewett (1999) argued that athleticism is intrinsic to Australia's national identity as opposed to other nations where "sport is often a vehicle used to parade other symbols of nationhood" (p. 358). In Britain, for instance, sportsmanship rather than athleticism is a mark of national identity, a fitting quality for the nation given Britain's historical belief that its descendants comprised an elite race

(Spurr, 2003). In this instance, sportsmanship held the meaning that Britons were the elites of society (Spurr, 2003) rather than being the most successful athletes.

Although Australia is still tied to the British monarchy, its distant location and combination of Irish and British colonisers created a unique national identity vested on its desire to demonstrate superiority to Britain (P. Fricker, personal communication, November 12, 2008) by embracing the rural, bush landscape (Cashman, 2002). Indeed, sport was used as a means of retaliation against the British colonial masters by the first generation of Australians born to European parents (P. Fricker, personal communication, November 12, 2008). This generation of athletes was considered healthier than their parents because of the rural Australian environment suitable for physical activity in fresh air (P. Fricker, personal communication, November 12, 2008). Potentially, the success at sport bonded the different European cultures to present one unified Australian identity.

The American, Australian and British identities are but three examples of cultural adoption of sport which have resulted in the fostering of national pride. This patriotism is evident in the athletes and fans alike (Dixon, 2000). Though the athletes are the competitors, fans are able to enjoy the athletes' successes because they identify with the ideologies the athletes represent (Dixon, 2000). Peter Fricker, the director of the Australian Institute of Sport (AIS), sees the lack of class distinction within the Australian social hierarchy replicated in Australian sport (P. Fricker, personal communication, November 12, 2008), allowing the fans to identify with the values of the athletes. Morgan (2001) argued the significance of sport as a kind of language that represents and even teaches a country's ideologies, reminding the fans of what they aspire to achieve. Given the role of the athlete in sport, the sports hero is a clear contributor to national identification.

The allocation of a country according to Hofstede's cultural dimensions is one predictor of sports heroes in accordance to culture beliefs. Hofstede (2003) assessed cultures

against five categories: power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance and long-term orientation. Differences in cultures become clear when comparing, for example, China and the US in regards to their scores for the dimensions. For instance, the US scored a 91 in individualism in comparison to China's score of 20. When taking into consideration the differences between a democratic society (US) and a communist culture (China), the large difference in scores is not surprising. Therefore, as previously discussed, US sports heroes are associated with hard work and honour, fitting with the country's values. However, these characteristics are not compatible with the values of the Chinese culture, perhaps as a result of the Western countries' inferior opinions of Chinese athletes in sport (Gems, 2004). Accordingly, a Chinese sports hero possesses skills that allow for successful competition against Western countries while maintaining Chinese tradition (Jones, 1999).

International sports competition and success serves as reflections of a country's value. For Western countries, performance at the Olympics is a direct correlation to their worth. For example, Australia is a country that prides itself on the number of medals its athletes win (Nauright & Magdalinski, 2003). Similarly, US media uses the Olympic Games and American victories as modified propaganda tools to assert the country's political standing and encourage national pride through its unabashed American focus (Billings & Angelini, 2007). Americans invest emotional connects in teams and athletes representing the US in international competitions, therefore linking athletic performance to political standing (Bass, 2002, as cited in Butterworth, 2008). Consequently, it is not enough for its athletes to simply participate in the Games, there is a need to win in order to accomplish a sense of achievement.

Sport as a representation of a country is able to evoke an emotive sense of national pride only rivalled by a nation's military (Andrews, 2008). In essence, the motivation behind sport at the international level is to establish the standing of one's country, with victory



signifying social accomplishment. Hence, in keeping with the origins of a hero being a warrior, athletes are representing all the citizens of their respective countries in a modern sporting 'battle'. Success equates to victorious representation and the fostering of national pride. As a result of winning performances in international competition, with Olympic success comes the display of the sports hero through extensive media coverage (Van Hoecke et al., 2000).

The financial benefit of enhanced media publicity is not as apparent for Chinese athletes as it is for Western athletes because of a difference in cultural demographics and ideologies. Differences in the approach to sport between the US and China are clear in the role of individualism, or lack thereof. While sports heroes in the US foster national pride and earn individual endorsement contracts, Chinese communist athletes are used for the more utilitarian function of nation-building through the promotion of health (Riordan, 1999). In fact, in 1917 Chairman Mao declared:

Physical culture is the complement of virtue and wisdom. In terms of priorities, it is the body that contains knowledge and knowledge is the seat of virtue. So it follows that attention should first be given to a child's physical needs; there is time later to cultivate morality and wisdom (Riordan, 1999, p. 49).

This declaration emphasised the importance of sport for the overall nation rather than simply Olympic athletes. In China, the socio-economic divide across the country is to such a degree that the influence of television does not reach all of the country's regions (R. Jones, 1999); therefore, exposure to Olympic athletes may be non-existent for some rural Chinese citizens. For the government and media to focus on the country's elite athletes is not practical for nation-building. Consequently, while Whannel (1999) has discussed the impact television media has on cultivating sports heroes, it cannot be applied globally. Hence, the desired

sports hero in China is still under construction as the popularity of sport increases (Jones, 1999).

Culturally, sports heroes are selected depending on the popularity of different sports as determined by the societal traditions. Notably, a sports hero can exist on a number of different levels, from heroes in local sport to globally known sports celebrities, depending on the definition of heroism within a culture (Fishwick, 1985). Accordingly, sports heroes exist regionally, even creating a sense of nationalism as a result of their achievements (Tannsjo, 2001). This is especially pertinent with Olympic athletes who represent their respective countries in international competition. As Van Hoecke (2000) explained, an athlete can generate feelings of patriotism and national pride within his or her fellow citizens, particularly when the athlete is successful in victoriously representing his or her country in international competition. However, Nauright and Magdalinski (2003) claimed this representation differs in meaning for Western versus non-Western countries given the Western beginnings of the Olympics. While evidence suggests Europeans adopted some sports played by indigenous athletes during Colonialisation, Olympic sports were reserved strictly for European male athletes when the competition originated (Eichberg, 2002; Reid, 2006; Tucker, 1994).

Even with the additions of some non-Western sports related to martial arts, the majority of Olympic sports remain especially Western-heavy. Given that Morely and Robins (1995) define Westernisation as “the export of Western commodities, values, priorities, ways of life” (p. 108), the Olympics are a clear demonstration of the Westernisation process. As the Olympic Games have grown in popularity, so too has the prestige associated with Olympic success.

For Western countries, performance at the Olympics is a direct correlation to their worth. Australia, for instance, prides itself on its Olympic medals count (Nauright &

Magdalinski, 2003), and the AIS is a prime example of a national entity created to perpetuate that ideology (ASC, 2007a). Indeed, Peter Fricker explained the catalyst for the institute's development was Australia's disastrous performance at the Montreal Olympic Games in which the country failed to win any gold medals (P. Fricker, personal communication, November 12, 2008). The unfavourable media attention generated by the 1976 Olympic team's poor international performance prompted the government to increase sport funding from only \$1–2 million yearly, to create an organisation that fosters Australian athletes for enhanced athletic performance (P. Fricker, personal communication, November 12, 2008). Evidently, simply to participate in the Games is not satisfactory achievement to foster national pride.

In essence, the motivation behind sport at the international level is to establish the standing of one's country, with victory signifying social accomplishment (Dixon, 2001; Nauright & Magdalinski, 2003). Hence, in keeping with the origins of a hero being a warrior, athletes are representing all the citizens of their respective countries in modern sporting 'battles' and as a result, sports heroes are the modern equivalents of ancient Greek warriors. The soldiers in the sporting arena as the "teams, coaches, fans and officials" (Dixon, 2000, p. 75). Success equates to victorious representation and the fostering of national pride. Oriard (1982, as cited in Goodman et al., 2002) described the Olympics as being the supreme platform for which an athlete to emerge as a sports hero due to the timelessness of the event. Indeed, he argues that the importance of this title lies in the American national identity in which the athlete-heroes are the ultimate role models (Oriard, 1982, as cited in Goodman et al., 2002). Due to international athletic success, the media presents the audience with coverage of the events "of which the average human is incapable" (Goodman et al., 2002, p. 375). As a result of the modern hero's physical display, with Olympic success comes widespread media exposure (Van Hoecke et al., 2000).

Athletic success is instrumental in the assignment of an athlete to sports hero status. After all, athletic superiority is determined by victory (Dixon, 2001) as well as positive behaviour outside the sporting arena (Delattre, 2001) which lead to increased media publicity. According to Peetz, Parks and Spencer (2004), the more famous a male sports hero, the better his effectiveness as an endorser and persuader, even convincing consumers to deem him an expert. His persuasiveness is made effective by maintaining integrity towards the game, for example, by rejecting steroid use (Delattre, 2001). Additionally, Lines (2001) contends that as an athlete's fame grows, so to does that public's knowledge of his or her personal life with the increased media exposure. Therefore, Whannel (1995) acknowledges the transfer of heroic athletic characteristics to the athlete's everyday persona, indicating that all media exposure should be as a result of positive behaviour.

Not all media coverage is a result of demonstrated athletic prowess. For example, at the Sydney Olympics in 2000, a swimmer named Eric Moussambani competed, representing Equatorial Guinea, a small country off the central west coast of Africa (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008a). Through a scheme initiated by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in an effort to spread sport, Moussambani was invited to compete with a free qualifying birth ("African novice makes big splash," 2000, September 19), as the IOC is committed to achieving equal athlete representation among potential participating countries (International Olympic Committee, 2008). The media coverage following his competition projected Moussambani to a sports hero, with praise for his efforts not only coming from the media, but overflowing to fellow swimmers, as well (Nauright & Magdalinski, 2003). The ripple of support broadened and "in Australia he became an overnight 'hero'" (Nauright & Magdalinski, 2003, p. 111). Clearly, the wide coverage of traditional and new media on Moussambani's performance was influential in forming the public's positive perception of him.

McCracken (1989) suggests that athletes displayed through the media carry individual qualities that “evoke meanings in their persona with great vividness and clarity” (p. 315). Victorious athletes with positive public images commonly receive increased media publicity (Delattre, 2001; Dixon, 2001). The media focus on Moussambani’s mediocre performance contradicts the norm, but demonstrates the significance of positive personal attributes in being able to elevate an athlete to sports hero status, even without the superior athletic skill. As sports heroes are visually and verbally represented as role models by the media (Goodman et al., 2002) the display of sports heroes through media outlets is crucial in reaffirming national identification. Consequently, sports heroes are iconographical of cultural characteristics.

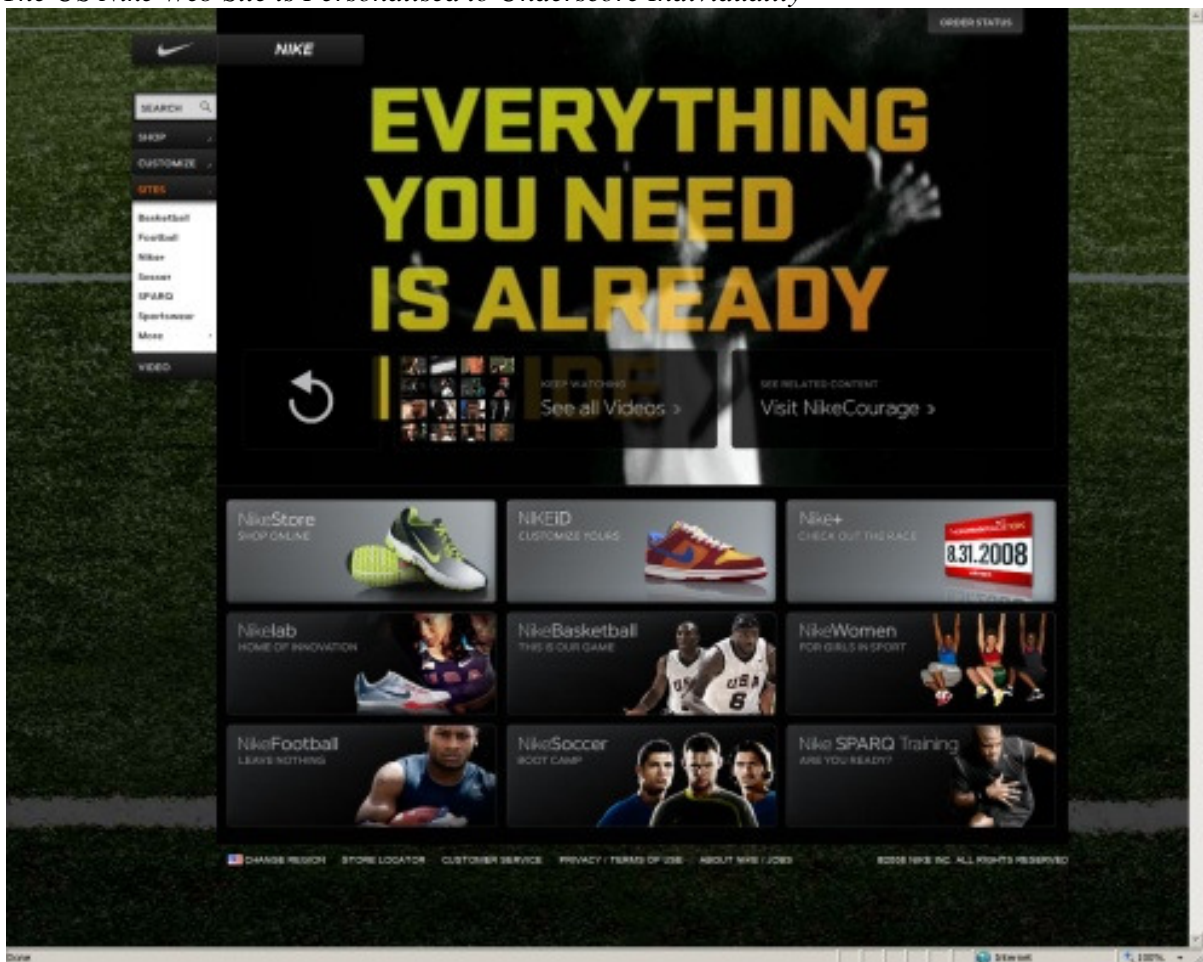
Media coverage is not exclusive to athletes at the global and national level. In fact, local sports hero can receive a significant amount of media coverage, generating a fan-following (Van Hoecke et al., 2000). While Moussambani does represent a symbol of national pride for his country, he would not be an effective endorser in the specific region due to the country’s exclusion from the network society. However, given his significant global media coverage, he could prove effective on a larger geographic level; hence, swimwear company Speedo’s interest in him as an endorser (Nauright & Magdalinski, 2003) was appropriate. As a result, it is easy to understand the motivation behind advertising practitioners employing sports heroes as in order to transfer the emotional connection consumers have with the athlete to the product.

Nike is one such sporting goods company that recognises the benefit of using sports heroes regionally. Not discounting the importance of its global sports heroes in increasing sales and profits, but the company also employs sports heroes known only in their own countries (Van Hoecke et al., 2000). According to Peetz et al. (2004), a sports hero needs to be able to reaffirm cultural beliefs in order to be most persuasive and legitimately earn the

title. Nike has responded to this aspect by reflecting the differences in its consumers' cultures through its web site by portraying images as respective to pertinent cultures. The US site underscores independence through the text emphasis on the individual consumer (see Figure 5).

Figure 5

*The US Nike Web Site is Personalised to Underscore Individuality*



Conversely, Australia's Nike site (see Figure 6) appeals to Australian consumers by focusing on unity, and in doing so, pays homage to the country's departure from the British social hierarchy to a more even social system (Cashman, 2002; Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2006; P. Fricker, personal communication, November 12, 2008).

Figure 6

*Australia's Nike Web Site Highlights the Country's Belief in Societal Equality*



The intensity of European football (soccer) fans (Andrews, 2008) is highlighted on the Portuguese site (see Figure 7) versus the more constrained and respectful approach to sport in Turkey (see Figure 8), a more quietly reserved country whose constitution makes reference to sport (Turkish Cultural Foundation, 2006). Clearly, Nike understands the advertising potential in individualising advertising campaigns by portraying images and texts applicable to specific cultures.

Figure 7

*The intensity of European Football Fans is Depicted on Portugal's Nike Web Page.*

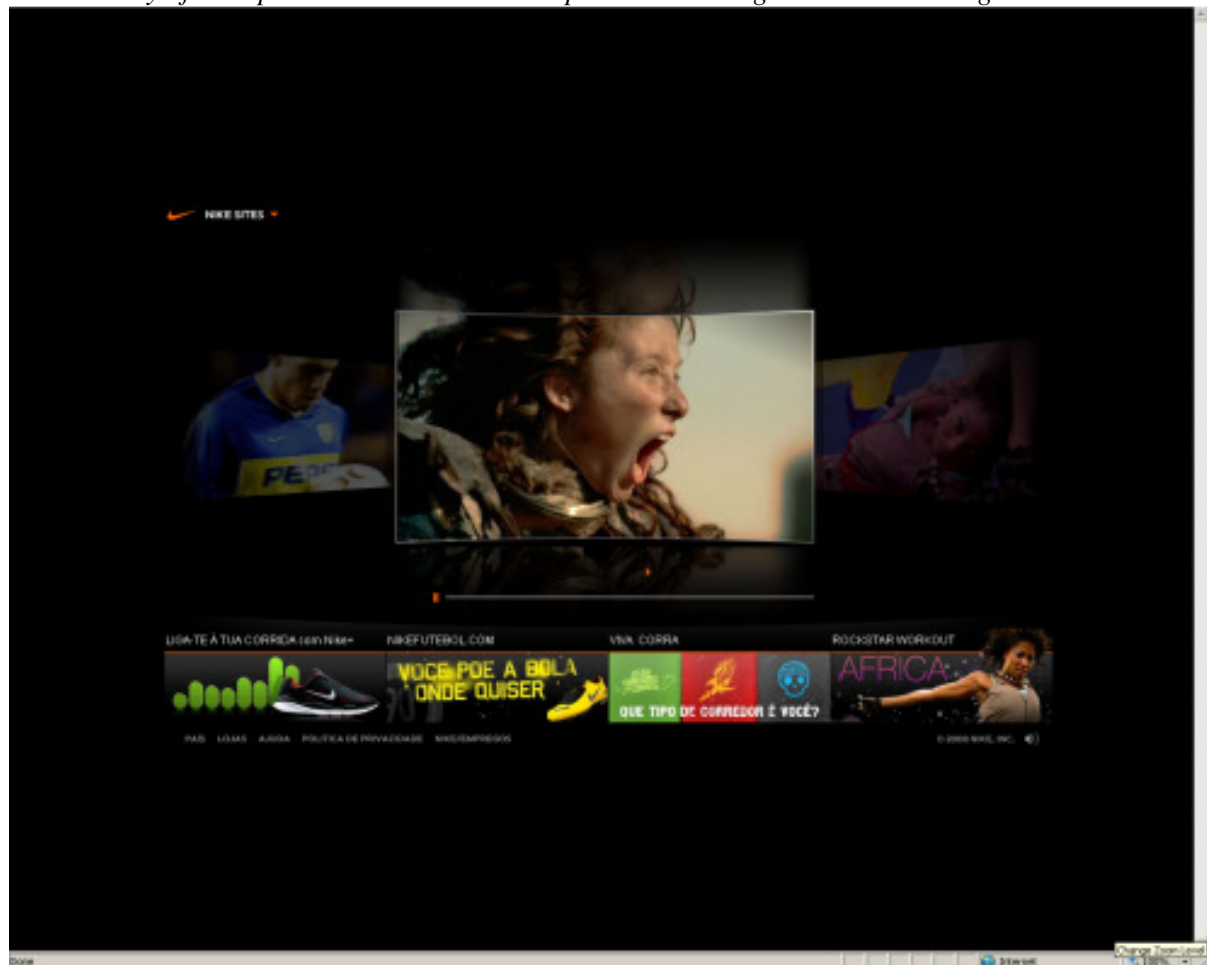




Figure 8

*The Turkish Version of the Nike Web Site Depicts Images Respectful of Sport as Appropriate to the Culture*



The personalisation of advertising to respective cultures is effective in appealing to consumer ideologies. Dyson and Turco (1998) considered recognition by the intended audience to be more important than being globally renowned. When the media focuses on local sports heroes it flames the audience's interest in sport, justifying more coverage of the athletes (McChesney, 1989). Hence, the symbiotic relationship between media sales and sport popularity operates on the local level with local sports heroes receiving media coverage (McChesney, 1989), promoting some athletes to endorsement hopefuls. Andrews (2008) explained, "Transnational brand strategies increasingly use locally resonant sport practices,

team, spectacles, and celebrities as a means of engaging local consumers and markets” (p. 44). Cultures are then able to create local associations with brand and products as a result of individualised advertising campaigns. Of course, this symbiotic relationship applies to national and global sports heroes, as well.

The role of the media is instrumental in exposing consumers to the athletes, contributing to the person perception process. According to Lines (2001), the media present athletes as possessing “multi-dimensional, highly visible and ensuring” (p. 286) characteristics. While the exposure can prove financially beneficial for the athletes, media organisations also benefit from reporting on sports by attracting a larger number of readers through captivating headlines and pictures (Denham, 2007). Researchers (Loy, McPherson, & Kenyon, 1978; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1978; Wenner, 1989a) have agreed that television, in particular, creates fan identification through the portrayal of heroism more so than any other media type. Nevertheless, while heroism is generally perceived as being a positive characteristic, some researchers as well as athletes have shunned away from the term as a result of the media exposure (Peart, 1996) and the addendum to the sports hero’s role to function as a celebrity (Lines, 2001).

The public’s familiarity with sports heroes as a result of media publicity forces the athletes to assume responsibility, albeit involuntarily, of role models because of the importance of sport culturally (Jones & Schumann, 2000). The progression of journalism now encompasses reporting on the personal lives of sports heroes rather than simply their athletic performances (Whannel, 1999). More significantly, with the number of steroid accusation being generated and further confirmed, Peart (1996) has critiqued the logic behind allocating athletes to heroes because of their athletic skills even when their sports are in states of disrepute as a result of steroids. However, it would be illogical for the media to sever its relationship with sport because of their symbiotic relationship.

In fact, Denham (2007) has identified performance-enhancing drugs as beneficial for the media for two particular reasons. Firstly, when athletes are performing at a higher level of athletic skill, they more they are in demand for television coverage. Secondly, there are financial profits to be made when a high profile athlete comes under steroids allegations. Nicholson (2007) agreed, claiming the relationship between media and sport has always been financially driven. Unknowingly, the media may be altering the definition of a sports hero as a result of its financial gains from reporting on steroids in sport. As a result of the all-encompassing media focus on sports heroes' lives, the traditional definition of a sports hero is under construction (Lines, 2001). Certainly, the volume of steroid accusations across professional and Olympic competitors has the potential to alter the type of athlete that is recognised as a sport hero; however, this shift could not have occurred without the supporting media portrayal and coverage.

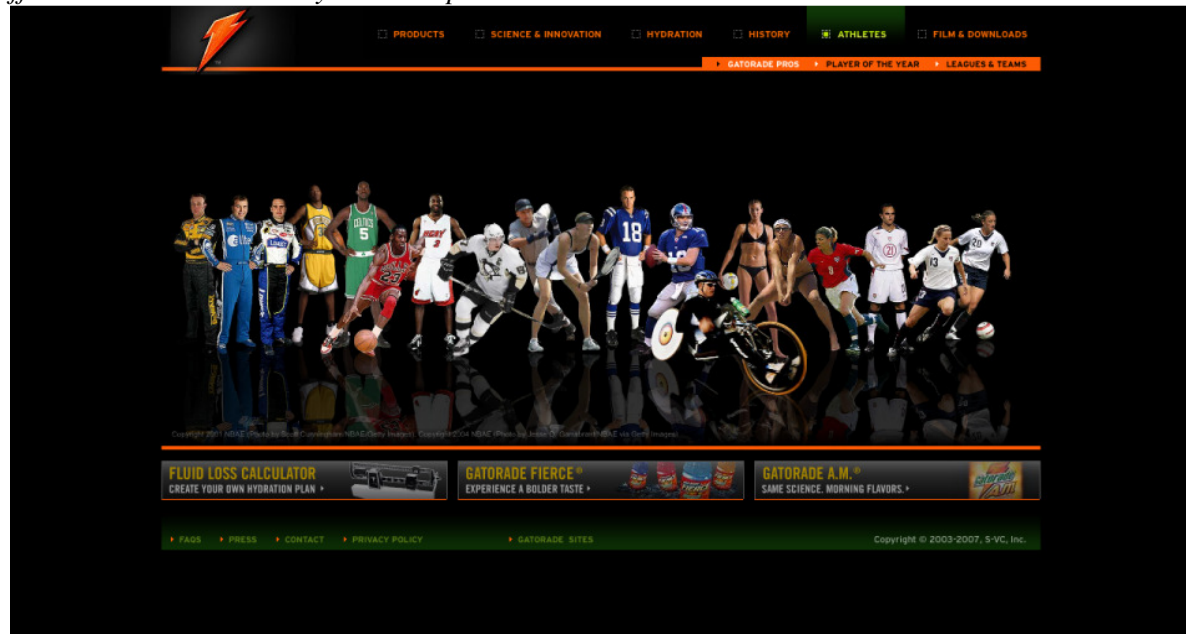
Notably, globalisation, convergence and Web 2.0 have led to a global online society, providing a nexus through which sports heroes can be discussed (Nicholson, 2007). The interactive elements of Web 2.0 indicate that the definitions of sports heroes across cultures may begin to blend as the limitations of time and space are eliminated, allowing users to communicate on a global level. Traditionally, fans were at the mercy of media suppliers for information reported on a sports hero (Lines, 2001), a clear link to how the media influences the person perception process within consumers. However, this is changing as a result of new media, particularly due to collective intelligence. Flew (2008) refers to collective intelligence as the compilation of human interactions to construct a broader wealth of knowledge. Clearly, not only are the media potential influencers in defining a sports hero, but the online fans are, as well. Although digital media was not invented when the theory of hero worship was developed, the interactive elements of new media allow the admiration of a sports hero to continue on in a personalised online manner (Shuart, 2007).

Currently, admirable sports heroes are chosen to be featured in campaigns and promotions because of their athletic skill and display of positive characteristics outside the sporting arena (Brown, 2001). Accordingly, selecting celebrity endorsers is impactful on the brands or products being endorsed. While a celebrity's influence can generate brand recognition among consumers, hiring a high-profile spokesperson does not necessarily guarantee an increase in sales and profits (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005). Peetz et al. (2004) found that although undergraduate US students indicated admiration for sports hero endorsers, that did not necessarily affect purchase intentions. Erdogan, Baker and Tagg (2001) suggested that practitioners assess many factors when evaluating the effectiveness of potential endorsers, including brand match-up, so as to obtain the most effective fit between celebrity and product. Till and Busler (2000) concurred, indicating that endorser/product suitability held a role in determining the match-up effect appropriateness of an endorser and the product being endorsed. As such, sports heroes generally demonstrate effectiveness as endorsers when promoting dietary supplements and exercise equipment (Till & Busler, 2000). Given the nature of an athlete's career, a sporting brand is a particularly appropriate brand match-up because the brand's products not only contribute to the athlete's success during competition (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005), but also to that athlete's daily training regime.

Gatorade is one example of a company that capitalises on the use of athletes. As a sports drink, Gatorade markets itself as heightening fitness performance (Gatorade, 2007b), a fitting match with sports hero endorsers. Knowing this, the company offered 19 of its endorsers' profiles across nine sports to new media users as interactive elements on its web page (Gatorade, 2007c) as shown in Figure 9.

Figure 9

*Gatorade's Web Site Offers the User Interactivity with its Sports Hero Endorsers*

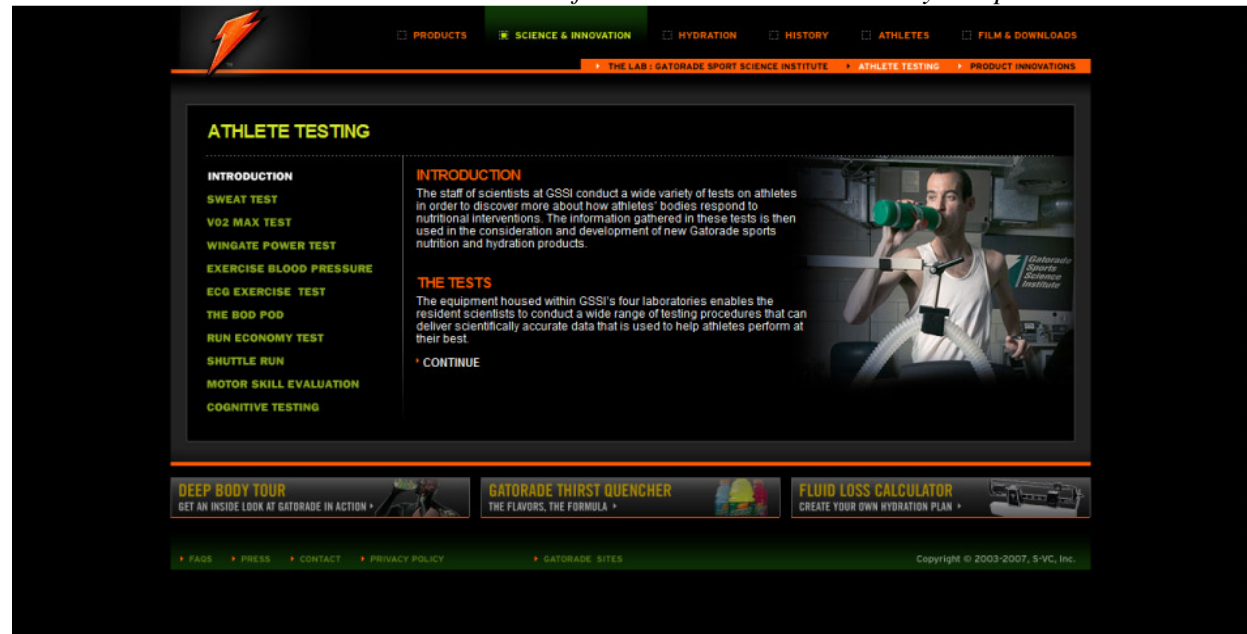


(Gatorade, 2007c)

The company furthered its athlete-promoted credibility by boasting the products as athlete-tested (Gatorade, 2007a), overtly drawing the connection between the product and the athletes' performances for the consumer and new media user. For instance, Figure 10 shows how Gatorade leads the consumer to believe there is a connection between the sports drink and athletic success by describing a variety of tests its researchers have conducted on athletes. Such marketing of the drink as a sports-related product solidifies consumer beliefs in Gatorade's abilities to sharpen physical activities because it is used by sports heroes in their own success.

Figure 10

*Gatorade Claims its Uses has been Proven to Enhance Athletic Performance as Demonstrated by its Sports Hero Endorsers*



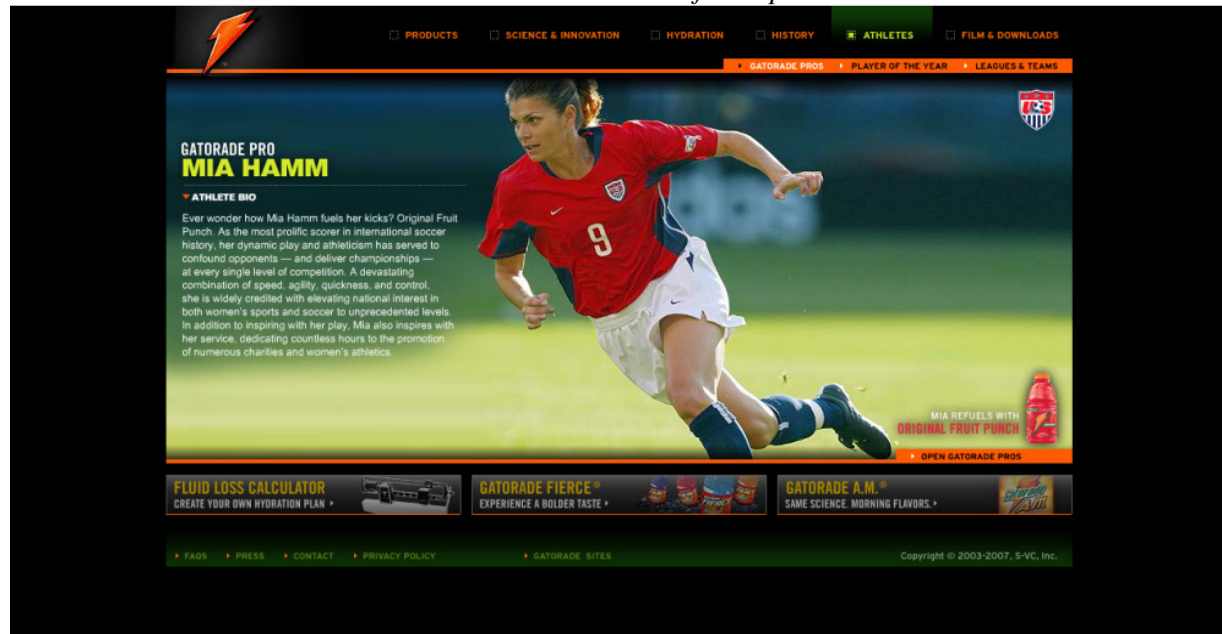
(Gatorade, 2007a)

The advertisements served as testimonials of proven achievement, placing the athletes in the role of expert endorsers. While Brown (2001) acknowledged the commonality of athletes utilising all possible means for heightened performance, this link served as a contradiction in that a sports hero is an athlete with near immortal capabilities (Goodman et al., 2002); yet Gatorade is claiming its influence on the athlete's performance, almost encouraging the consumption of a performance-enhancer. For example, Gatorade directly links sports hero Mia Hamm's quality of kicking soccer balls powerfully to drinking her favourite flavour of the sports drink (Gatorade, 2007d) as demonstrated in Figure 11. Within the player profile Gatorade also establishes Hamm as a sports hero by listing her soccer achievements as well as her philanthropist efforts (Gatorade, 2007d). The company passively established its involvement in Hamm's success to solidify the endorser-brand relationship.



Figure 11

*Gatorade Links Hamm's Athletic Skill and Success to her Favourite Flavour of the Sports Drink*

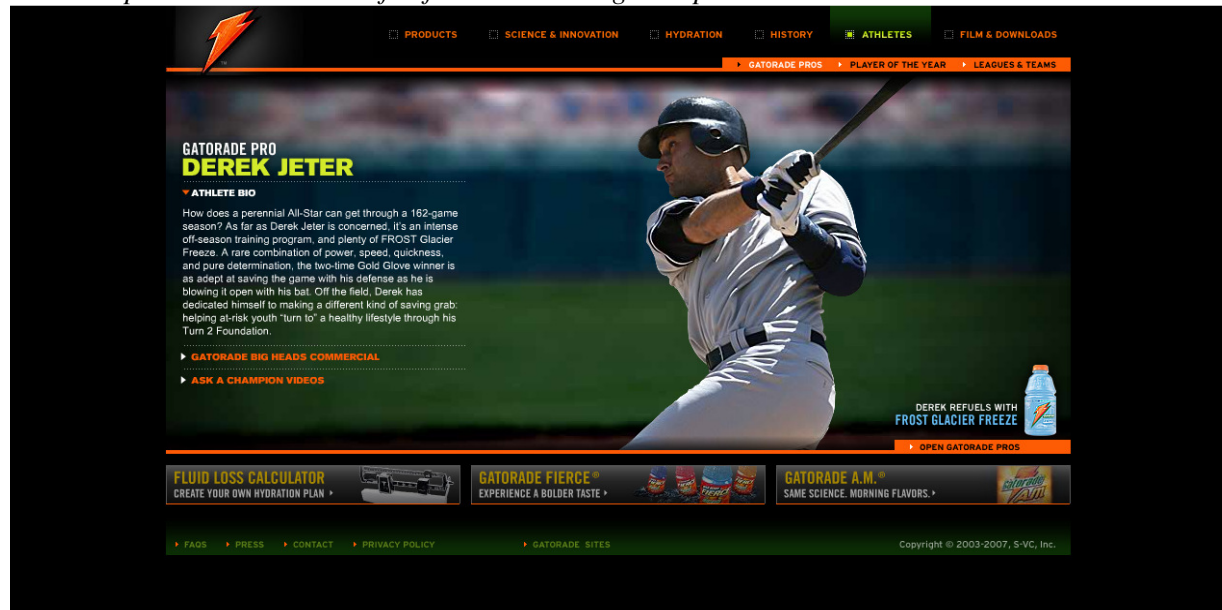


(Gatorade, 2007d)

However, Gatorade heightened the effectiveness of its advertising through its use of the complementary relationship between new and traditional media. Take Derek Jeter's Gatorade profile, for instance. Again, there is the link between the sports drink and athletic prowess in the sport of baseball as well as a focus on his charitable efforts (Gatorade, 2008) to establish the endorser as a sports hero (see Figure 12). However, additionally the web page contained Web 2.0 capabilities that allow for interactivity, providing the user with the option to view a Gatorade television commercial featuring Jeter as an endorser (see Figure 13). From an advertising perspective, this media combination was legitimate in order to improve customer reach and solidify the association between endorser and brand (Plummer, Rappaport, Hall, & Barocci, 2007).

Figure 12

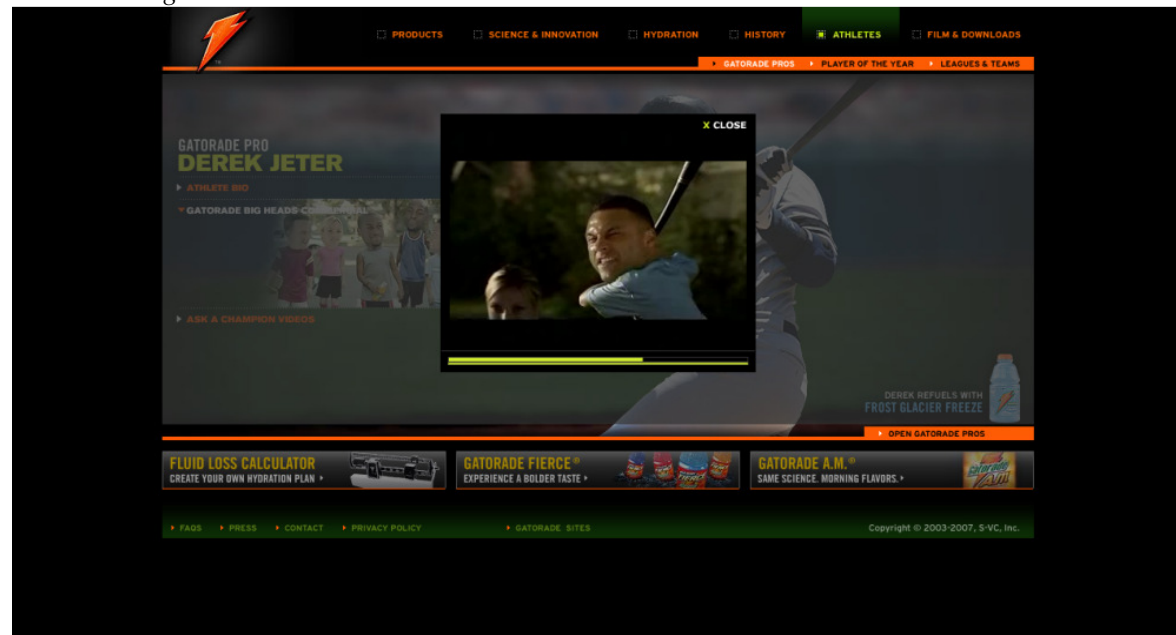
*Gatorade Portrays Jeter as a Sports Hero who Benefits from Consuming the Sports Drink.*



(Gatorade, 2008)

Figure 13

*A New and Tradition Media Convergence is Executed on Gatorade's Web Site Where Users are Able to View Jeter's Television Commercial*



(Gatorade, 2008)

The fit between the sports audience and new media is appropriate. According to Wenner (1989a), sports viewers are demographically appealing to advertisers for their education and income levels. Because they are generally well-educated with disposable incomes (Wenner, 1989a), sports viewers are beneficially relevant in their capabilities to be involved with the network society rather than separated due to the digital divide. As such, an integrated advertising campaign can be utilised, improving endorser effectiveness through appropriate media types and vehicles (Plummer et al., 2007) given the viewers' abilities to interact with and purchase new media components. With the influence of the Internet on product purchasing (Row, 2006), the ability for consumers to navigate the interactive elements heightens potential effectiveness of the endorser.

Establishing a relationship between the endorser and the product being endorsed is important given that consumers are inclined to relate the brand or product being endorsed with its celebrity endorser (Till & Shimp, 1998). For example, Jeff Gordon, a professional race-car driver, would be an appropriate match as the celebrity endorser for the brand of motor oil he uses in his car during a racing competition. For sports heroes, when the product has been a direct influence on the athlete's success, and that athlete supplies a testimonial for its effectiveness, consumers are more likely to buy the product (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005; Dyson & Turco, 1998). In this regard, athletes are credible endorsers because they assume the role of both celebrity and expert (Dean & Biswas, 2001) and fans seek to emulate the characteristics associated with that athlete by purchasing products he or she promotes (Jones & Schumann, 2000). Hence, sports heroes are considered to be most valuable in endorsing dietary supplements and exercise equipment (Till & Busler, 2000), products that clearly relate to their respective professions; accordingly, athletes' knowledge of the sporting products are perceived as intimate and realistic.

Of course, not all sports heroes endorse strictly sporting-based products and brands. Successful, fan-favourite athletes are chosen to endorse products both coinciding with and unrelated to their respective sports. For example, Michael Jordan, a sports hero and former National Basketball League (NBA) player, has been seen endorsing sports-affiliated products for Nike and Gatorade for years (Arndorfer, 2002). The brand match-up between Jordan and Nike is appropriate and the company demonstrated his athletic prowess and muscular physique in television commercials (see Figure 14). Certainly consumers associate Jordan with Gatorade and Nike after his longevity as an endorser.

Figure 14

*Nike Emphasised Jordan's Athletic Skill and Muscular Physique in Television Commercials to Solidify the Role of the Company in his Success*



(YouTube, 2008c)

Jordan has also proved effective in endorsing products unrelated to his sports hero persona (Mathur, Mathur, & Rangan, 1997) by appearing in television commercials and magazine advertisements for McDonald's restaurants and Hanes under garments ("Payoff pitches," 2003). Although McDonald's does not sell sporting products, the company wisely capitalised on Jordan's sports hero persona in the television advertisements (see Figure 15).

Figure 15

*McDonald's Capitalised on Jordan's Sports Hero Persona in Archived Television Advertisements*



(YouTube, 2008e)

Conversely, Hanes utilised Jordan's likeability and fan-following to create an effective advertising campaign (see Figure 16). While the advertisements are no longer shown via traditional media, they can still be accessed with the use of new media, demonstrating its ability to transcend time and space. As a result, the association between the sports hero and the product is able to continue because of the complementary relationship between traditional and new media.

Figure 16

*Hanes's Advertising Campaign Featuring Jordan Emphasised his Likeability*



(YouTube, 2008d)

Establishing longevity with brands has been effective for Andre Agassi, a retired tennis champion. He endorsed Nike for over fifteen years and recently inked a deal with the US based fitness centre franchise, 24 Hour Fitness (Swafford, 2006), fitting brand match-ups given his proven athletic aptitude on the tennis court. However, in addition to these sports-minded endorsements, Agassi can also be seen endorsing Canon and Genworth Financial (Swafford, 2006). Canon and Agassi have had a relationship since he was 17 years old. Agassi's employment as the Canon endorser continued even as he turned the age 39, clearly indicative of his effectiveness as an endorser and his popularity with the public.

Agassi's brand loyalty and public appeal have allowed him to transcend the sponsorship of sporting products because consumers associate Agassi's loyalty with brand superiority (Van Hoeske et al., 2000). The positive feelings consumers have toward Agassi as an athlete and as a person are, in turn, transferred to the products he supports because his loyalty to the brands aid in establishing his credibility as an endorser. Without a scandal surrounding his name, Agassi's public image still registers positive feelings with the audience, as evident in his lucrative endorsement contracts and profits being made by those



brands supplying his contracts. However, not all sports heroes have been lucky enough to avoid public scrutiny over a scandal.

Indeed, negative publicity has the potential to de-throne sports heroes from their immortal stature because of the elevated societal status to which they are allocated from the fans. Klapp (1962) explained that fans consider sports heroes to be “what they ought to be but aren’t” (p. 139). Consequently, when a sports hero becomes associated with a scandal the sports hero risks alienating those idolising fans. The harm lies in that it is the public that chooses a sports hero (Fairlie, 1978) who embodies the beliefs and values of that community. Therefore, when a sports hero becomes tainted, his support will inevitably diminish. However, there are athletes who possess traditionally negative characteristics yet are embraced as sports hero. These athletes are examples of antiheroes. While the definition of an antihero can vary depending on the motivation to be less of a fan-favourite athlete, the redeeming aspect for the antihero’s financial gain is that there will be loyal fans who will continue to consider the athlete a hero (Vande Berg, 1998). As a result, even antiheroes have marketing potential.

In addition to potential negative publicity acting as a detriment, not all athletes have the credibility that Jordan and Agassi possess in order to transcend the sports-based endorsing genre. In fact, attempting to endorse too many products can have a detrimental effect on a sports hero’s public image and credibility as an endorser (Till & Busler, 2000). The relationship between endorser and product can be mutually influential, both beneficially and detrimentally. Atkin and Block (1983) emphasised that consumers may view a celebrity acting as an endorser as a selfless act, but Till (2001) countered by suggesting that products or brands have the capability of influencing the celebrity endorser’s credibility as consumers may begin to believe that the athlete is simply endorsing any product in order to secure lucrative contracts.

The ability of sports heroes to endorse products (Till & Busler, 2000) from a regional to a global level (Van Hoecke et al., 2000) is clear. Even companies which sell products outside the sporting realm are recognising the potential profits from using a celebrity sport endorser (Lane, 1996), perhaps decreasing the difficulty for sports heroes to endorse non-sporting products. When sports heroes come under clouds of suspicion, consumers' beliefs in the athletes' public images as athletes, as people and citizens are challenged as established societal aversion to steroid use has been established.

### *Cloud of Suspicion*

The fight against steroid use by professional and Olympic athletes is a global concern. Burke and Roberts commented in 1997, "It has been an eventful year for drug use in sport" (p. 99). Hence, media coverage concentrating on steroid allegations in sport has now been prominent for over a decade.

While media coverage of steroid use, both for allegations and confirmation, by professional and Olympic athletes suggests doping is a recent development in sport, the use of performance-enhancing supplements has been present since the ancient Olympic Games (Staudohar, 2005). Across sport there are a variety of performance-enhancing supplements that are legal for athletes to consume; notably, anabolic steroids are not included in that classification. Even so, a handful of elite athletes and sports heroes, particularly baseball players in the MLB and riders involved in professional cycling, have come under harsh allegations of steroid use, raising the question of what effect these allegations will have on their respective endorsement values.

These athletes, who have neither confirmed nor been exonerated of steroid use, will be referred to as existing under a cloud of suspicion. The cloud of suspicion occurs from rumour-based media generated steroid speculation (Denham, 2000) directed at a sports hero.

The degree of media speculation can vary from athlete to athlete, but it is safe to assume sports heroes would receive a significant amount of media coverage given the media's increasing interest in celebrities (Denham, 2007). As the rumours become publicly acknowledged (Carstairs, 2003), media channels attach an unconfirmed perception of guilt to the athlete for using a prohibited substance (Bird & Wagner, 1997), reasoning that the athlete partook in steroids in order to gain an athletic advantage against opponents.

While there are a number of misconceptions in regards to steroid use within sport, Denham (2000) identifies the two general categories of drugs that are pertinent to enhancing athletes' performances: restorative and ergogenic. Restorative drugs, for example cortisone shots, are legal supplements targeted to ease pain and improve an athlete's ability to compete (Denham, 2000). These drugs are not responsible for bringing a sport into disrepute. Ergogenic drugs, however, are not legal within sport and are used primarily with the objective of heightening athletic performance (Denham, 2000). Examples of ergogenic aid used in sport include caffeine, cocaine, and anabolic steroids.

The temptation for athletes to use steroids presents itself because of the unfair physical advantage steroids can have on an athlete's body. In cycling, doping – for example, erythropoietin (EPO) and steroids – has become so prevalent that the UCI now demands riders to submit to blood tests (Associated Press, 2009, September 25). Steroid use in particular, provides an athlete with a distinct advantage over opponents because while the physical demands of the sport are enormous (Schneider, 2007), anabolic steroids assist in speeding up the cyclist's recovery process (U.S. Department of Justice Drug Enforcement Administration, 2005). As a result, steroid using cyclists are able to “recover more quickly from workouts and to train more frequently” (Staudohar, 2005, p. 140). This is especially beneficial to cyclists competing in the Tour de France, an event extended daily over a three week period of time (Schneider, 2007). In this regard, the benefit of steroid consumption in

cycling is less about increasing muscle size and more about physical recuperation for competitive sustainability.

Stereotypes associated with the physical transformation of the body caused by steroid use are common. Specifically, members of the public often self-confirm accusations of steroid use by athletes under clouds of suspicion simply based on the athletes' increased muscle size (Staudohar, 2005). Another visual side effect of steroid use with the potential to sway members of the public to believe steroid allegations is an increased head size (Staudohar, 2005). While these perceptions may be indications of steroid use in athletes, they certainly do not serve as confirmation, particularly given increased head and bone size is more typically associated with human growth hormone (HGH) rather than anabolic steroids (Godfrey, Madgwick, & Whyte, 2003).

Consuming anabolic steroids provides athletes with a definite advantage over opponents because steroids allow an athlete to train more frequently and for a longer duration of time. Media portrayal has associated steroids with increased muscle size (Denham, 2007), but more importantly, steroid use helps to "improve endurance and decrease recover time between workouts" (U.S. Department of Justice Drug Enforcement Administration, 2005, p. 61). However, each ergogenic aid has a specific targeted effect, not all of which are physical. Gardner (1989) acknowledges that the use of 'recreational' substances may assist in enhanced athletic performance. However, the effects of cocaine use, for example, elicit a mental reaction in clouding the user's misperception of a heightened performance (BMA Board of Science and Education, 2002). This differs from the effects of the thirty types of anabolic steroids (Staudohar, 2005) which are aimed to "improve strength by increasing lean body mass, decreasing body fat, prolonging training by enhancing recovery time, and increasing aggressiveness and energy" (BMA Board of Science and Education, 2002, p. 23). These effects can be accomplished by application of steroids through needle injections, pills or skin

absorption via patches and creams (Staudohar, 2005). Clearly, these effects provide athletes with physical advantages over opponents, especially in endurance performing sports, such as swimming, track and cycling.

Recently, steroid accusations have surfaced around athletes in a number of countries across a variety sports, but this is hardly a fresh issue. While the media have the ability to create a sense of urgency surrounding the use of performance-enhancing substances in sport (Denham, 2004), drug use as a competitive advantage can be traced to swimming canal races in Amsterdam during the 1860s ("Ever farther, ever faster, ever higher?," 2004). Anabolic steroid use has traditionally been traced to Soviet weightlifters during the 1954 World Championships (Pallesen, Jøsendal, Johnsen, Larsen, & Molde, 2006). This continued into the 1960s with athletes in sports outside weightlifting also using anabolic steroids for an unfair additive in competition (Denham, 2000). However, these examples of drug use were not as widely discussed as more recent steroid allegations.

Although Canadian sprinter, Ben Johnson, was publicly stripped of his gold medal in 1988 because of a failed drug test during the Seoul Olympics ("Drugs and the Olympics," 2004), 1990 marked the year in which anabolic steroids seriously expanded to Olympic sports outside weightlifting (Yesalis, Courson, & Wright, 1993, as cited in Pallesen et al., 2006). Even more recently, China has become aware and concerned with steroid use after the 1994 World Championships in Rome where the Chinese women's swim team captured 18 gold and silver medals, prompting cries of outrage from opponents claiming unfair anabolic steroid use and sending steroid allegations swirling (Lawrence, 1994, September 26). Steroid use in the sports of weightlifting and swimming have undoubted demonstrated histories, and steroid use overall in sport has been established as an international and enduring challenge.

The concerns over steroid use continue to mount. For instance, former US President, George W. Bush, added steroid use in sports for inclusion in the War on Drugs ("Drugs and

the Olympics," 2004), a campaign developed to globally target drug use that became commonly known in 1973 during Richard Nixon's presidential term (Suddath, 2009, March 25). The continued investment in the War on Drugs has been controversial as US\$2.5 trillion has been spent in the past 40 years (Suddath, 2009, March 25) supporting a campaign some view as unwinnable because of its oversimplification of drugs and their dangers (Levinson, 2008). Moreover, critics argue the War on Drugs is simply a political platform used to create the illusion that the government is actively and effectively diminishing the drug crisis when "the global production and consumption of [the targeted] drugs are roughly the same as they were a decade ago" (Nadelmann, 2007, p. 24). Even so, Bush furthered the War on Drugs by publicly encouraged sports to be drug-free in his 2004 state-of-the-union address ("Drugs and the Olympics," 2004). In his speech, he focused on the function of athletes to be role models:

Athletics play such an important part in our society, but, unfortunately, some in professional sports are not setting much of an example...The use of performance-enhancing drugs like steroids in baseball, football and other sports is dangerous and sends the wrong message – that there are shortcuts to accomplishment, and that performance is more important than character (Lochhead, 2004, December 9, ¶ 13).

This emphasis on character is similar to sporting organisations' explanations for prohibiting steroid use reasoning that doping degrades the spirit and character of sport (Tamburrini, 2007). Given that the ultimate goal of sport is to teach admirable morals and qualities to young athletes (Teetzel, 2007), the positive steroids tests of a fourteen-year old South African female track-and-field athlete and a fifteen-year old female American swimmer (Burke & Roberts, 1997) are evidence that steroid use is a global concern. Sporting organisations are responding.

The MLB adopted a more stringent drug policy in 2006 (Gurnick, 2009, May 7), the same year the Mitchell Report discussing the state of doping in baseball was released. In May 2009 Manny Ramirez became the most high profile sports hero baseball player to succumb to the stricter guidelines with a 50 game suspension for using illegal performance-enhancing drugs (Gurnick, 2009, May 7). Similarly, the US Olympic Committee (USOC) recently announced it will take a more assertive approach to combating doping amongst its athletes ("Intelligent testing: USOC taking more active role in anti-doping strategy," 2007, July 1). The response by sporting organisations to denounce steroid use was evident in the Head and USA Track and Field imploring then President George W. Bush not to pardon Marion Jones (Gettelman, 2008, July 23) after she admitted to steroid use and was indicted for lying to federal investigators and partaking in a check-fraud scam (Associated Press, 2008, January 14). This more active attitude towards testing includes targeting athletes in high-risk sports, including track-and-field and swimming.

While the more aggressive approach to eliminated steroid use is an improvement, Denham's (2007) examination into the use of performance-enhancing drugs in baseball can be used to critique the USOC's approach, primarily because steroid use cannot be confined to particular sports. For instance, while baseball is not a high-contact sport, allegations and indeed, confirmations, of steroid use have been abundant. Even pitchers are consuming steroids in order to strengthen their throwing arms and maintain a high level of performance throughout the entire season (Denham, 2007). Traditionally, athletes in combative sports, as well as powerlifting and sprinting, felt pressure to consume steroids in order to remain competitive with those athletes already exploiting illegal performance-enhancers (Denham, 2000). However, combative sports are joined by less aggressive sports with the temptation of steroid use by their athletes, as demonstrated by allegations of players in baseball, cycling, and tennis.

Two record breaking baseball players highlight the impact media has on fostering a cloud of suspicion and creating in the public images of accused sports heroes. Barry Bonds broke the all-time homerun record in 2001, (Roberts, 2001, October 5), three years after Mark McGwire set a record for the number of homeruns hit in a single season ("McGwire won the HR race of '98," 2003). Both players had established fan-followings as evident in their multiple selections to participate in All-State games (MLB Advanced Media, 2001-2009a), events in which the fan voting contributes to roster determination (CBS Sports, 2009). Yet unlike McGwire's feat, Bonds's accomplishment has been overshadowed by an intense cloud of suspicion and a tarnished public image, preventing him from maintaining (Milner, 2004, December 14) and securing endorsement contracts which should have eventuated after his demonstration of athletic prowess.

The difference in media portrayal of the two homerun heroes cannot be discounted. McGwire certainly could have fallen under the intense cloud of suspicion that Bonds was subjected to given McGwire's overtly muscular physique at 6'5" tall and 225 pounds ("Baseball Almanac," 2006). Indeed, Henry (2006) questioned the motive behind the inquiry into Bonds's alleged steroid use versus a lack of inquest into McGwire's even though they both demonstrated an increase in muscle mass. While McGwire's cooperation garnered him positive media attention, Bonds's aversion to the media resulted in a negative portrayal of his public image (Henry, 2006). As Milner (2004, December 14, p. R9) explained, Bonds has always been known for his "prickly personality and intense dislike of the media spotlight". As a result, the believability in his guilt was enhanced.

The perception of guilt did not apply to McGwire even though he admitted to using performance-enhancing supplements during the season when he set the new homerun record. Physically, it was logical for clouds of suspicion to amount around these two sports heroes given the typical media portrayal of steroid users with enlarged muscles (Denham, 2000), yet



McGwire avoided the media scrutiny and criticism that Bonds endured. However, McGwire was forthcoming regarding the supplements, with all the products he consumed being cleared as legal (Carstairs, 2003) at the time of use, helping to minimise the effects of a cloud of suspicion. There was no shame associated with his admission given the authorised status of the supplements. Consumer sales of the supplements even increased after his admission (Brown, Basil, & Bocarnea 2003). Conversely, Bonds's adamant refutation of the allegations eventuated in shame being attached to his public image once his steroid consumption, albeit allegedly unintentional, had been confirmed. Bonds has admitted to using two substances, both containing steroids, though he maintains his innocence of knowing steroids were a component of the substances (Fainaru-Wada & Williams, 2006). While confirmation of steroid use has been established for Bonds, the cloud of suspicion remains, but now it is regarding the truth behind his alleged ignorance of the steroids.

McGwire's open approach towards his use of performance-enhancers was effective in the short-term, but appears to have long-term consequences. A delayed effect from the allegations emerged in 2005 as a hindrance in his election to the Baseball Hall of Fame (Sheinin, 2005, March 18), suggesting the potential of long-term effects from a cloud of suspicion, partially due to his refusal to candidly discuss the state of steroid use in baseball. Luckily for McGwire, these allegations have no financial repercussions given their delayed consequences. Ironically, while it was the physical effect on their muscles that subjected Bonds and McGwire to steroid allegations, in fact, not all steroids have extreme side effects which allow for visual identification (Denham, 2000). Hence, an athlete's physique is not reason enough to be included or excluded from a cloud of suspicion, especially given the prominence of steroid use across sports not typically associated with steroids.

Besides their media portrayals, another difference exists between McGwire and Bonds in the colour of their skin: McGwire is white, Bonds is black. Certainly, this difference

raises the question of what role race played in the players' respective media portrayals. The decision not to pursue a white player in 1998 cannot go unnoticed (Henry, 2006). However, this discounts the cultural state that baseball was in when McGwire broke the single season homerun record.

During the 1994-1995 season, MLB players engaged in a strike that lasted 232 days and resulted in fan disillusionment (Staudohar, 1997). When McGwire began chasing the homerun record in 1998, it provided fans with a rejuvenated belief in America's pastime. Given that focus in baseball had been on the strike, the potential for steroid use by professional baseball players was overlooked by the media. Alex Rodriguez, a sports hero baseball player who recently admitted to using illegal substances, explained that "back then, [baseball] was a different culture...It was very loose" (ESPN, 2009b, February 10, ¶ 3). However, Rodriguez is making reference to 2001 (ESPN, 2009b, February 10); the Bonds inquiry began in 2000 (Henry, 2006). Interestingly, McGwire's counterpart in the homerun race of 1998 was Sammy Sosa, a black player who, similar to McGwire, was not subjected the media criticism or cloud of suspicion that Bonds received. Although Sosa tested positive for performance-enhancing drugs in 2003 (Schmidt, 2009, June 16), the media attention remained minimal. Yet given the intense media focus on Bonds regarding steroid use, racial athletic stereotypes remain in question.

The influence of the media in spreading a cloud of suspicion is undeniable; however, what is not clear is its influence on the strength of a cloud of suspicion in regards to race. Consciously and subconsciously, people constantly form impressions of others based on their actions, facial expressions, culture, personal presentation and/or demeanour, to name a few (Ajzen, 1988; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Newman & Uleman, 1989). Spontaneous trait inferences are conclusions, or inferences, that are made unintentionally (Newman & Uleman, 1989). Individuals have a tendency to want to stabilise other individuals' actions, making them

consistent and predictable (Plaks et al., 2005). Bonds's negative behaviour of allegedly engaging in steroid use is more believable to the public given his prior unconstructive interaction with the media. The cloud of suspicion does not appear to be unreasonable considering his background.

Baseball players are not the only elite athletes under clouds of suspicion for steroid allegations. As with any sport, technique does apply to cycling, but strength and endurance are the most important characteristics a cyclist needs to have (Saraceno, 2006b, June 28) in order to be successful, unlike baseball which requires a great deal of technique over strength when attempting to catch and/or hit a ball (Jenkins, 2005, March 15). As a result, the advantageous effects of steroids on this sport still subject to debate (Jenkins, 2005, March 15). However, the use of steroids to succeed in cycling is more clear-cut than in other sports and is taken so seriously by the UCI, cycling's governing body, that athletes can be removed from competition merely for being under a cloud of suspicion ("Doping scandal rocks Tours: favorites Ullrich, Basso barred on eve of race," 2006, June 30). Tour de France riders are even forced to sign guarantees that if they test positive for doping they will be fined an entire year's salary (Wyatt, 2007, July 6). Because of this, athletes are assumed guilty until proven innocent.

Cycling has become a sport in which its athletes are perceived as steroid users, perhaps because of the continuing steroid confirmations. After the retirement of Lance Armstrong in 2005, the 2006 Tour de France competition had embraced the encouraging theme that any competitor had the potential to win (Kenny, 2006). Unfortunately, the cyclists' dishonest actions reflected that theme ("Basso, Ullrich kicked out of Tour de France," 2006) as consumption of prohibited substances occurred in efforts to secure victory.

The banning of favoured cyclist Jan Ullrich from the 2006 Tour highlights the prevalence of cycling's doping stigma and the UCI's attempt to eliminate the sport's

association with steroids. Because of cycling's strictness in banning athletes over allegations ("Doping scandal rocks Tours: favorites Ullrich, Basso barred on eve of race," 2006), even past achievements such as a 1997 Tour win and five-timesrunner-up finishes were not enough to uphold Ullrich's credibility against the cloud of suspicion (Austen, 2007, February 27). The ban also prompted sponsor T-Mobile to drop Ullrich as a spokesperson ("Doping scandal rocks Tours: favorites Ullrich, Basso barred on eve of race," 2006, June 30). His ban from the race because of suspicion of doping ultimately eventuated in his retirement from the sport (Wyatt, 2007, July 6). This is one example where a cloud of suspicion clearly had a detriment effect both on the athlete's public image, as well as on his endorsement value, but not all allegations have such clear effects.

Arguably, Armstrong is the most famous Tour de France competitor to be accused of doping. A cloud of suspicion followed Armstrong throughout his career as a result of winning seven consecutive Tour de France races and even remained with him into retirement (Goldman, 2006, June 24). Though he denies any wrongdoing, ex-friends of the cyclist had sworn to hearing Armstrong admit to using performance-enhancers, including anabolic steroids (Goldman, 2006, June 24), yet the strength of his cloud of suspicion wavers in intensity. It appears as though his victory over cancer and his continuing support to fight cancer through the Lance Armstrong Livestrong Foundation (Lance Armstrong Foundation, n.d.) forgive the allegations.

Retirement did not save Ian Thorpe from a cloud of suspicion either. Thorpe is a former Australian Olympic swimmer who announced his retirement in November 2006 ("Report: Thorpe tested positive in '06," 2007, March 30). Four months after the retirement announcement, *L'Equipe*, a French newspaper, claimed that Thorpe tested positive for doping in May of 2006 ("Report: Thorpe tested positive in '06," 2007, March 30). While Thorpe is retired, therefore eliminating the possibility of the allegations harming his sporting career, the

claims could have a negative impact on his public image. More than that, the accusations have potential of damaging his endorsement value. Given that sports heroes earn the most lucrative portion of their salaries from endorsement contracts (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990), the steroid allegations could have had a devastating effect on Thorpe's livelihood. While the initial response to the claims was a fury of media speculation, the allegations have stalled in momentum (Magnay, 2007, April 6). Determined to officially rid himself of a cloud of suspicion, Thorpe is currently suing the media source, *L'Equipe*, that reported the claims (Moran & Jeffrey, 2008, June 25). Luckily for Thorpe, the damages were minimal. After examining how the strength of a cloud of suspicion is moderate for two retired sports heroes, arguably, active athletes are more at risk to be detrimentally affected by steroid allegations than former athletes.

Not all athletes recover from a cloud of suspicion as quickly as Thorpe and Armstrong. For example, NFL player Brett Favre's drug addiction admission lost him an estimated US\$2 million in endorsement contracts while he was an active player (Lane, 1996). Similarly, female US Olympic track athlete, Kelly White, was dropped as an endorser by Nike after confirmation of doping (Jung, 2004b, December 24). When examining the effect of confirmed drug use on the then active athletes' endorsement values, it is not surprising that sports heroes perceive a cloud of suspicion to be less harsh financially than when completed outed; hence, the multitude of steroid denials prior to admission.

Coupling drug or steroid use with an unfavourably perceived public image exacerbates the effect of a cloud of suspicion. Brian Bosworth, for instance, a former NFL player, was known for his ill-temper and aggressive behaviour; however, along with his volatile attitude came his admission to steroid use (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990). While Bosworth's lack of endorsements could have been was due to his ill temperament, Agassi and

Lleyton Hewitt, loud and unreserved tennis players on the court (James, 2002, September 2), demonstrate how edgy attitudes can be marketable without substantial risk.

The notoriety of Bosworth's public persona is further detrimentally evident when comparing his steroid admission for illegal substances to Lance Armstrong's steroid use. Though Armstrong used a legal amount of steroids in a cream, (Friedman, 1999) he continued to be an effective endorser. Even after Armstrong's retirement, rumours of steroid use continue to circulate, yet the public's trust of him does not appear to waver. Certainly, Armstrong has the public's vote of sympathy on his side after having conquered testicular cancer and then winning the Tour de France. Armstrong and Bosworth present two different situations, yet Armstrong serves as an example of an athlete who can undergo allegations of steroid consumption but still continue to act as a successful endorser. Since Bosworth has admitted to steroid use, it is impossible to predict what his endorsement value would be had he remained under the cloud of suspicion. While the public has an aversion to steroid use (Staudohar, 2005) because of its cheating connotation, the strength of a cloud of suspicion can be exacerbated or diminished by the accused athlete's public image.

Morgan (2007) positioned the public's demand for fairness against the IOC's fear of losing public support. Similarly, the MLB was hesitant in altering its approach to testing and monitoring steroids for fear of comprising baseball's tradition (Denham, 2006). In other words, increasing the number of athletes testing positive for steroid use decreases the public's support. This would be detrimental for Western countries, in particular, who value their performances at the Olympics and international competitions as indicative of their worth in relation to other countries (Nauright & Magdalinski, 2003). Morgan (2007) embraced the role of the public as sports consumers when creating his definition of fairness:

...fairness in the demands that everyone in sport be treated equally, in other words, that the rules of sport apply to all in relevantly similar ways, and that the distribution

of benefits and responsibilities in sport be determined by a competition open to all on the basis of the relevant talent and capabilities of would-be participants and in such a way that does not diminish the goods of that sport delivers that draws people to them (p. 4).

Notably, this definition allows for cultural leniency as fans vary according to culture and community; the interpretation on fairness should then be assessed on a case-by-case basis. This approach is potentially problematic for international competition. However, the inability to compensate culturally different fans can be remedied by treating the respective sports as individual communities.

The cycling community has been subject to criticism for an almost supportive approach to doping from the marketers, creating an inconsistent community ideology with the anti-doping fans (Schneider, 2007). The instability of this community is exposed when the media encroaches with steroid allegations. Similarly, the baseball community's inconsistent attitude towards steroid use has been exposed by sources players and the media. Jose Canseco, a retired MLB player and former sports hero, used the media as a catalyst to intensify the steroid allegations, further segregating the members of the community (Staudohar, 2005).

The ideology of the baseball community is complex given that baseball is a major component of the American national identity (Scheurer, 2005; Staudohar, 2005; Wenner, 1989b). This would suggest that the sport should reflect the positive characteristics of Americanism. Yet, baseball is currently recognised as a sport under a cloud of suspicion (Denham, 2004), and the intensity of the scrutiny continues to mount as yet another baseball sports hero has admitted to past steroid use.

Alex Rodriguez, a three-time Most Valuable Player (MVP) (ESPN, 2009a), admitted to consuming a banned substance over a three year span (ESPN, 2009b). This latest admission only adds to the flurry of steroid suspicions surrounding MLB. More interestingly,

Rodriguez's admission does not align with the American ideology of sport reflecting the fairness practised in social behaviour (Morgan, 2007). It should be noted that although Rodriguez was born in the US, his parents hailed from the Dominican Republic. His ties with the Dominican Republic remained as his former trainer who allegedly supplied Rodriguez with the steroids, and who is currently banned from the MLB, is also a Dominican citizen (Segura, 2009, February 23). Even as the diversity of players in the MLB increases, ethnic players are still expected to assimilate into the existing national identity as represented through baseball (Elias, 2001, as cited in Butterworth, 2008). Arguably, Rodriguez's personal ideology does not align with the common American national identity, although attributing his steroid use to heritage justifies the historical view of foreignness generating corruption (Honig, 2001, as cited in Butterworth, 2008).

The prominence of steroid allegations and confirmations serve as almost contradictions to the American national identity. The cultural symbolism of sport is undeniable in the US (Lenk, 1976). In a country where the importance of sport is even reflected in its citizens' vocabulary by use of sporting metaphors (Morgan, 2007) and where taking a risk is likened to venturing in sport (Lenk, 1976), its athletes under clouds of suspicion fail to resemble the role models demanded by the public. Indeed, steroid use is perceived negatively because in general, the public has a culturally accepted aversion to cheating. However, if doping was practiced by the public, it would then be considered acceptable for athletes to partake in that behaviour (Staudohar, 2005). A change towards steroid consumption tolerance would only occur if supported by the community (Burke & Roberts, 1997). As it stands, steroids are viewed unfavourable from a global cultural standpoint as defined by the IOC and public perception.

Along with violating public perception of fairness in sport, Burke and Robert (1997) contended that apprehension about steroid use is a cultural fear in that the masculinising



effects of steroids disable female users from fitting the feminine mould. Correspondingly, Teetzel (2007) argued that the effects of steroid use in masculinising females challenges the socially defined concept of gender. Anabolic steroid use is more prevalent by men than by women and therefore, has become associated with male athletes (Pallesen et al., 2006). For women, potential side effects of steroid use include developing traits more commonly associated with men, such as growing facial hair and developing a deep voice (Burke & Roberts, 1997; Haff, 2006). Therefore, strong public reactions against anabolic steroid use by women can be attributed to the unwelcome masculinising of their physical appearances and the use of substances typically associated with men.

These side effects contradict the social definition of femininity and heroism.

Goodman, Duke and Sutherland (2002) argued that heroic qualities associated with male athlete endorsers become culturally accepted as symbols of heroism. Considering that sport can be used to effectively teach “young athletes morals, values and life skills, as well as promoting such qualities as fair play, tolerance, discipline and team work” (Teetzel, 2007, p. 52), the stereotype of masculinised heroism is not only taught to be accepted, but also perpetuated. The failure for women athletes to align with female characteristics tests cultural beliefs. Again, cultural beliefs determine acceptability (Staudohar, 2005). It is interesting that the defined muscularity considered to be the ideal on a male body is deemed unbecoming on a female.

Although culturally and officially anabolic steroids are considered illegal, a cloud of suspicion over sports continues to persist perhaps due to the wide-ranging frequency of steroid confessions. Morgan (2007) explained that while athletes are aware of the immorality in consuming banned substances, they are also faced with the challenge of competitively performing against opponents who are steroid users. Denham (2000) suggested that athletes feel the need to consume steroids in order to remain competitive with those athletes who are

already consuming. Hence, observing other athletes engage in illegal steroid activities absolves the remaining athletes from abiding by the rules against steroid consumption (Morgan, 2007). However, Morgan (2007), maintained that participants in sport agree to morality when they enter a competition in the sporting arena, putting fair play and the integrity of the sport above self-interest in success. Consumption of steroids improves athletic performance, in turn leading to financial incentive for continued use as a result of lucrative endorsement contracts and performance bonuses (Denham, 2007).

The effects of a cloud of suspicion in hindering athletes' abilities to secure endorsement contracts are noticeable. At the 1996 Atlanta Olympics Irish swimmer, Michelle Smith, won three gold and one bronze medals (Bamberger, 1997, April 14). Given the adversity Smith overcame (Bamberger, 1997, April 14), these athletic feats should have led to lucrative endorsement contracts and positive media exposure. Surprisingly, Smith's wins were almost immediately clouded by steroid accusations even with no concrete evidence of doping. In 1998 unconfirmed suspicions remained regarding her wins, yet a tampered-with urine sample diluted with a lethal amount of whiskey secured Smith's ban from international competition, thus ending her career (Penner, 1998, August 7). Though confirmation of steroid use has never been established, the strength of this athlete's cloud of suspicion not only cost her financial security, but the ability to participate in sport.

Smith's case also exemplifies the media's ability to influence the public. For example, Penner's (1998, August 7) opinion expressing the need for intervention in order to improve the state of doping in Olympic sport was obvious with his statement, "It cannot be held too soon" (§ 21) in response to a scheduled IOC meeting. Comments such as that from the media instil a sense of urgency in media consumers as to the acceleration of steroid use in sport.

Regardless of the state of doping in sport, the media's role in perpetuating the association of steroids with particular sports is undeniable (Schneider, 2007). Denham (2004)

targets a 1991 *Sports Illustrated* article as the media catalyst that prompted exaggerated reporting on steroid side effects. Because of the uncertainty of steroid use in the long-term, media portrayal has helped to establish the stereotype of enlarged muscles, increased facial hair and a deep voice as indicators of steroid use (Denham, 2000). As a result, the media propagates exaggerated perceptions of steroid side effects (Burke & Roberts, 1997).

Media presentation of steroid information sways the public to dislike drug use among athletes (Davis & Delano, 1992). Indeed, researchers (Denham, 2007; Schneider, 2007) have argued that the association fans have between steroids and athletes is a product of media portrayal; the media positions individuals as morally inferior and willing to cheat (Denham, 2007). Compounding that is the apparent ignorance of journalists when reporting on steroids (Haff, 2006). As Jose Antonio remarked in a roundtable discussion, “There are mainstream newspaper reports that dehydroepiandrosterone is an ‘anabolic’ steroid. It certainly is a steroid, but it is certainly not anabolic” (Haff, 2006, p. 44). Note that ergogenic drugs were discussed earlier as illegal substances in sport. Anabolic steroids are ergogenic (Denham, 2000; Juhn, 2003). When journalists incorrectly identify anabolic steroids, they potentially create unwarranted clouds of suspicion by suggesting athletes consumed substances targeted at enhancing athletic importance. This is a crucial element in the argument against steroid use.

Interestingly, although steroid use is publicly condemned as shameful (Burke & Roberts, 1997), the media’s role of linking cycling with steroids has not decreased fan support of the specific competition of the Tour de France (Schneider, 2007). However, that does not prevent fans from being disillusioned and disappointed with drug use in sport (Saraceno, 2006a, August 2), particularly in cycling overall (Saraceno, 2006b, June 28). According to Bird and Wagner (1997), sports which legalise doping actually hinder their marketability. Yet Michael Ball, owner of a cycling racing squad, claims that sponsors are

abandoning the sport because of the fixation on identifying current and past steroid offenders (Murphy, 2008, February 18). Although Ball predicts the demise of the sport if the decrease in financial backing from sponsors continues, the UCI is continuing its pursuit to rid cycling from the steroid stigma (Murphy, 2008, February 18). The stringent drug testing may be detrimental to the sport at the moment, but needs to continue in order to maintain its fan-following. Therefore, the prohibition of steroid use in cycling allows fans to continue supporting cycling without contradicting the societal norm of rejecting cheating (Staudohar, 2005).

There appears to be a limitation with the extent of fan support with cycling, though. With the exception Armstrong, cyclists are noticeably underrepresented among sports heroes in the US perhaps due to the prevalence of anabolic steroid abuse within the sport and the anti-cheating sentiment of the American public. For example, American cyclist Tyler Hamilton recently retired from cycling after testing positive and admitting to knowingly consuming a steroid (Murphy, 2008, February 18). Not surprisingly, while the sport is supported worldwide, the elevation of athletes within a cloud of suspicion saturated sport is limited. Becker and Scheufele (2008) would applaud this almost unconscious public punishment of doping as they express the need for stricter consequences for doping to account for the number of teenagers who idolise professional and Olympic athletes.

One solution to eliminating a cloud of suspicion is to legalise all substances in sport. Almost thirty years ago Brown (1980) suggested that athletes be given the freedom to make the decision to consume steroids at their discretion. Indeed, Gardner (1989) acknowledged the argument of banned substances providing an unfair athletic advantage over opponents, but questions the philosophical depth of the argument given its frequent employment. Additionally, the naive approach of maintaining a natural body free of substances discounts the significance cultural values play in forming the ideal body type (Burke & Roberts, 1997).

The sporting community's revulsion of the overly muscular athletic body exemplifies the social definition of the ideal body (Burke & Roberts, 1997). While similarities of the ideal body type still exist with the ancient Greek warrior's body, the sporting community has adapted its views to coincide with current sporting issues. The adaptation of views reflects the public's opposition to steroid use. Thus, the legalisation of all substances in sport is ill-conceived as it overlooks the public's critical disposition towards unnaturally enhanced athletic performance.

Health concerns present an even more ethical argument against the legalisation of steroids in professional and Olympic sport. As Staudohar (2005) explained, "Not only does it [steroids] make users artificially superior to their contemporaries and forebears, it also poses potentially serious health risks" (p. 140). The side effects of steroids vary per person (Staudohar, 2005). In fact, not all steroids have extreme side effects, making the identification of steroid users clouded (Denham, 2000). That aside, researchers (BMA Board of Science and Education, 2002; Denham, 2000; Haff, 2006; Staudohar, 2005; U.S. Department of Justice Drug Enforcement Administration, 2005) agree on the dangers of consumption.

Still, with the potential side effects of liver tumours, heart enlargements, muscles injuries and increased aggression to name a few, athletes continue to engage in steroid use (Staudohar, 2005), continuing the cloud of suspicion that surrounds professional and Olympic sport. Surprisingly, even the most serious side effect of death does not serve as an absolute deterrent (Staudohar, 2005). As Denham (2000) put it, "Steroid use in sport is an institutional phenomenon" (p. 60). Once a level of performance has been established, it is impossible to erase, even if it is the result of a performance-enhancing supplement (Denham, 2007). Athletes become blinded by the importance of winning (Bird & Wagner, 1997). As such, athletes will aim to strive above and beyond the established performance level. The decision of some

athletes to consume steroids, knowing the legal and medical consequences, suggests that cloud of suspicion will continue. Knowing the dangers involved with steroid use, sporting organisations often cite health risks as a justification in opposing doping in sport (Tamburrini, 2007).

Public reaction to steroid use, while overwhelmingly unfavourable (Burke & Roberts, 1997), varies in style and intensity according to culture or community. For example, Scandinavian countries (Carstairs, 2003), Norway (Gilberg, Breivik, & Loland, 2007) and Finland (Berger, 1966, as cited in Carstairs, 2003) in particular, are known for priding themselves as leaders in sports morality. In fact, when Finnish skiers tested positive for steroid use in 2001, the country treated the scandal as a national catastrophe, prompting sponsors to withdraw (Carstairs, 2003). After the incident, the Scandinavian approach to doping is preventative rather than reactive. The US also prohibits steroid use among athletes, however, the country's reactions to and consequences of steroid use differs to the Norwegians due to the significance of sport in the American national identity (Morgan, 2007).

No matter the nationality, the overall global disposition towards the use of illegal performance-enhancers is negative. Indeed, this is expected when considering Lines's (2001) assertion that sports heroes are analysed for both their behaviour on and off the field. Certainly, steroid claims made against a sports hero would be damaging to his off-the-field public image even though the intended effects of steroids alter on-the-field performance.

#### *Public Image and Endorsement Value*

A positive public image is essential, not only for sports hero endorsers, but also for the brands they are endorsing. Public image is a celebrity's readily distinguishable personality traits (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990), such as athletic skill, achievement, charm, and appeal (Van Hoecke et al., 2000), which generate a following of consumer fans who have a desire to

identify with that celebrity (Dean & Biswas, 2001). The consumer appeal of a positive public image is significant. Shuart (2007) noted that with US undergraduate university students alone, 75% admitted to having a well-liked sports hero they admired. Correspondingly, Ergogan et al. (2001) identified British advertising managers as believing an endorser's image has a high level of importance overall of a 5-point likert scale. This noble public image is particularly important for brands with modest advertising budgets that have to utilise every resource exhausted on effective marketing.

The ability to secure endorsement deals is equally important for the athletes as it is for the companies. Top grossing athletes earn the majority of their incomes from endorsement deals rather than from their sporting contracts (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990). Advertising managers even suggested athletes could expand their fame by securing endorsement deals (Erdogan & Baker, 1999). These contracts are largely affected by the athlete's perceived endorsement value, or the instant recognition (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990) as well as popularity and marketability of a celebrity (Carstairs, 2003), along with the extent to which the public perceives an endorser to be knowledgeable, credible (Dean & Biswas, 2001), and trustworthy (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005). For example, Anna Kournikova does not earn a lucrative income as a tennis player given that she has yet to win a trophy. Nonetheless, *Advertising Age* listed her as the third most effective endorser in 2003 ("Payoff pitches," 2003), demonstrating that athletes do not have to be the best in the sport in order to gain endorsements and have a commercially viable endorsement value. However, accomplishments in sport lead to the heightened possibility of an athlete becoming a sports hero, which in turn, increases endorsement value potential.

Nike, a company run by athletes for athletes (Van Hoecke et al., 2000), specialises in selling sporting equipment and apparel (Mullen, 2003, August 18) and has a large budget for advertising, enabling the company to employ high profile athletes as endorsers. In the 2002-

2003 fiscal year, Nike spent over \$1.4 billion on endorsement contracts (Mullen, 2003, August 18), \$4 million more than the previous year. Tiger Woods alone, received \$40 million to sign on as a Nike endorser in its youth-focused campaign (Dyson & Turco, 1998). He is merely one of many athletes chosen to support the Nike brand and its products.

Although Woods has never been surrounded by scandal or controversy, other Nike endorsers have been caught in unwanted media spotlights. For example, Michael Irvin, a former player in the NFL was found with drugs and prostitutes by the police in a hotel room (Dyson & Turco, 1998). This hiccup in the marketing campaign did not faze Nike, as Irvin was only a modest component in the overall advertising scheme, but for the 13 Toyota dealerships that employed Irvin as their endorser, the result was a devastating loss of more than \$400,00 in lost advertising costs and having to find a replacement endorser (Lane, 1996). Because of the high cost of employing a celebrity endorser and the mishap with Irvin, the dealerships ended up using an animated monkey in their commercials rather than risk employing another endorser (Lane, 1996).

Certainly with the current global economic crisis effective utilisation of marketing budgets is a must regardless of the size of advertising budget allotment. Media coverage suggests that while advertising budgets may be decreasing, the number of clouds of suspicion is increasing. Hence, the acquisition of a risk-free endorser is a challenge. Celebrities, by nature, attract audience attention (Miciak & Shanklin, 1994), allowing consumers to establish a feeling of connectedness (Friedman et al., 1978). Yet Cooper discussed a 1984 consumer poll in which 74% of respondents did not want to see athletes in advertisements. In 1996 that sentiment appeared to diminish with companies seeking to emulate the success of Nike campaigns (Lane, 1996) by integrating athletes into advertisements for beer, soda, pain medicine and food to name a few (Till & Busler, 2000). This sports hero popularity was further echoed by British advertising managers in 1999 when they cited the increase in leisure



activities and sports as reason to utilise athletes as endorsers (Erdogan & Baker, 1999). With the increase of media attention on speculated steroid use in sport, presumably, the unfavourable sentiment has returned.

Negative media exposure can be detrimental to fan evaluations of sports heroes (Till & Shimp, 1998). When Roger Clemens was cited as a steroid user in the Mitchell Report the backlash from sponsors was quick, putting his estimated US\$3 million endorsement contracts in jeopardy (Sweet, 2007, December 26). ESPN, a multimedia sports entertainment company (ESPN, 2007a), pulled from broadcast a television commercial featuring Clemens shortly after the Report was made public on December 13 (Sweet, 2007, December 26). Even without a positive steroid test confirming Clemens as a user, companies such as Coca-Cola and AutoNation balked at the opportunity to renew his contracts (Sweet, 2007, December 26), exposing the potential damage from a cloud of suspicion.

While a cloud of suspicion may not prompt sponsors to dismiss an endorser, it may cause them to shy away from offering future contracts to the sports hero. It would be expected, then, that in order to maintain a profitable endorsement value and secure contracts, sports heroes will remain out of negative publicity spotlights. However, sponsors desire well-known athletes as endorsers (Canning, 2008, July 24), a status that is accomplished by increased media exposure. Basically, every time the athlete receives media publicity the brand, in turn, receives free advertising (Segers, 1992, as cited in Van Hoecke et al., 2000) bearing in mind that consumers draw an association between the endorser and the brand (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005). Erdogan and Baker's (1999) advertising manager respondents indicated celebrity endorsers were an effective means for advertising campaigns to break through media clutter and grab the audience's attention. Therefore, the potential for athletes to use anabolic steroids in order to boost athletic performance and media exposure is almost expected.

British advertising practitioners suggest using celebrity endorsers frequently spotlighted by the media can be effective because they are perceived as newsworthy and relevant (Erdogan & Baker, 1999). However, while advertising practitioners generally look for certain positive characteristics within their endorsers, an athlete does not necessarily need to have an impeccable image in order to be employed as an endorser. Fans embraced the antiheroic qualities of Charles Barkley and Dennis Rodman, former NBA players who received notoriety on and off the court. Their popularity indicates that while some fans regarded their rebellious behaviour as indicative of an antihero, others embraced their defiant attitudes as heroic (Vande Berg, 1998).

For smaller companies with more modest budgets, the negative publicity surrounding their endorsers has serious consequences. Fila's vice president of advertising, Howe Burch, explained (Lane, 1996, p. 242), "As a company, we have to be very careful that we choose the right guys. We don't care if they're the best athlete in the world if he or she isn't a solid citizen." Till and Shimp's (1998) study found that negative information delivered before a solid association between the brand and the endorser has been forged is more damaging to the brand than if the endorser is an established face for the company. This explains why New Zealand advertising practitioners listed the risk of negative endorser publicity as the most commonly assessed factor when selecting a celebrity endorser (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005). In particular, athletes are especially risky endorser choices because of their high potential for injury (Erdogan & Kitchen, 1998, as cited in Charbonneau & Garland, 2005). For a smaller company, choosing the appropriate athlete endorser who appeals to the most consumers and will continue to maintain a positive image is top priority for maximising its earnings.

Companies outside the sporting realm are recognising the potential profits from using a celebrity sport endorser, as well (Lane, 1996). Indeed, Kamins's (1989) participants

confirmed the appeal of using a celebrity endorser. However, negative publicity on the athlete could have repercussions on the brand given that the consumers associate the brand with the athlete; companies recognise this dilemma. According to Lane, in 1996 a clean public image was desirable from advertising practitioners and lucrative for sports hero endorsers. This disposition appeared to have continued in 2008 when Michael Phelps, a US Olympic swimmer, broke a gold medal Olympic record by winning eight gold medals at the Beijing Olympics (NBC Universal, 2008) and signed lucrative endorsement contracts. He became a confirmed sports hero by overcoming a childhood of adversity (Winerip, 2008, August 8) and asserting his athletic dominance in the pool. Further solidifying his positive public image, Phelps offered to partake in extra drugs tests prior to the Olympic Games to promote anti-doping (Eason, 2009, February 1). Given the media attention to steroids in sport and the public perception of increased doping among athletes, this gesture was significant. Consequently, it is estimated that Phelps signed endorsement contracts totalling between US\$30 and \$50 million annually (Vause, 2008, August 18), demonstrating the potential for a substantial endorsement value by portraying a positive public image.

However, Phelps's clean public image was tarnished in February 2009 when photographs of him engaging in what appeared to be the illegal drug use of marijuana surfaced (Eason, 2009, February 1); his endorsers responded. Phelps was dropped as an endorser by Kellogg's, a company that focuses on healthy eating and family values (Kellogg NA Co., 2009). In an effort to disassociate the brand from Phelps, Kellogg's even unloaded two tons worth of cereal boxes with his image on the front at a San Francisco food bank (Nevius, 2009, March 11). Unfortunately for Phelps, when consumers do not like the athlete, they will not like the brand that athlete endorsers either, forcing advertising practitioners to shy away from selecting negatively perceived celebrities as endorsers (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005). For example, the web site AskMen.com posed the question to its readers if

they believed the marijuana scandal would hurt Phelps's endorsement contracts. Not surprisingly, one reader questioned, "...maybe he is even taking performance-enhancing drugs" (AskMen.com editors, 2009, February 2, p. 1). This contradictory behaviour to his previous stance on anti-doping and confirmed drug use potentially exposes Phelps to a cloud of suspicion for steroids use and its effects.

Phelps exemplifies Jones and Schumann's (2000) claim that the media has the ability to motivate societal discussions of athletes' sporting performances and their personal behaviour. Not all discussion for Phelps has been positive. In fact, Phelps issued a statement apologising for the drug use (Crouse, 2009, February 1), perhaps in an attempt to diminish the degree of negative publicity. Sporting organisations, International Swimming Federation (FINA) and the IOC praised him for taking responsibility of his actions and recognising the error in his behaviour (Associated Press, 2009c, February 18; Sports Illustrated, 2009). However, for Kellogg's to have kept Phelps as an endorser in light of the negative media publicity would have been contradictory to the company's values and potentially marginalising to its consumers.

Kellogg's concerns were not unsubstantiated. In Pecheux and Derbaix's (1999) study, Kellogg's was identified as a brand well-known to children aged 8 to 12 years old. Given the IOC's belief that Phelps was "well aware of the responsibilities and accountability that come with setting a positive example for others, particularly young people" (Crouse, 2009, February 1, ¶ 6), his removal from the Kellogg's brand as an endorser is not surprising. While Phelps has never tested positive for a banned substance, he did fail a drug-test prior to the 2000 Sydney Olympics, resulting in a loss of endorsement contracts (Crouse, 2009, February 1). That reaction in 2000 and the response of Kellogg's in 2009 demonstrate the significance of societal values in dictating the appropriate behaviour of a role model. Sports heroes are not only expected to perform exceptionally in the sporting arena, but they are also expected to

behave as extraordinary citizens (Lines, 2001) as audiences look to media broadcasted athletes to portray heroic characteristics fitting of a role model (Goodman et al., 2002). For Phelps to be an appropriate match as an effective endorser for Kellogg's, maintaining his public image as a positive role model was a must.

Web 2.0 users expressed their mixed opinions about Phelps's drug use on the Internet. The question of severity of the drug was addressed by blogger Sean Percival who sarcastically claimed "...surely it's the pot [marijuana] that has made him the superstar he is" (Percival, 2009, February 1, ¶ 2). It could be that in light of athletes consciously consuming illegal performance-enhancing supplements, marijuana use, a controversial topic in the US where it is federally outlawed (CBS News/New York Times, 2009, February 1) but still widely consumed (U.S. Department of Justice Drug Enforcement Administration, 2005), is deemed insignificant as it fails to offer any athletic advantage for athletes. Ironically, a potential side effect of marijuana is a loss of the desire to pursue goals (U.S. Department of Justice Drug Enforcement Administration, 2005), surely an undesirable effect for an Olympic athlete. Given the invent of new media and integration of interactivity, athletes under clouds of suspicion are subject to Web 2.0 user scrutiny in addition to traditional media reporting, potentially jeopardising their positive public images as sports heroes.

The implications of new media on a sports hero's public image can be considerable. Online marketing blogger Andy Beal (2009, February 2), referred to Phelps's online public image, or his "Google reputation", as "squeaky clean" (¶ 4) prior to the British newspaper, News of the World, publishing the marijuana photo of Phelps shown in

Figure 17 17 (Crouse, 2009, February 1). However, after releasing the damning photograph, Beal (2009, February 2) noted that a Google search on Phelps retrieved three links within the top ten and an alternative search suggestion that related to the drug scandal

(see Figure 18). With active network society fans having the ability to choose the online media to which they are exposed (Soukup, 2006) and to readily access textual, visual and audible information regardless of location (Sanders, 2008), the prominence of negative media links had the potential to considerably damage Phelps's global endorsement value.

Figure 17

*The Photo Featuring Phelps's Drug Misconduct Caused the Gold Medal Winner to Lose his Kellogg's Endorsement Contract*

**NEWS OF THE WORLD**  
WWW.NOTW.CO.UK

Get **NEWS OF THE WORLD** on your mobile **FREE**  
Text NOW to 85080 or type newsoftheworld.mobi into your phone browser

HOME NEWS SHOWBIZ SPORT VIDEO CELEB PHOTOS LIFESTYLE COLUMNISTS FABULOUS CASHBACK **Sun**

POLITICS BLOGS | GO GREEN | SAVE OUR STREETS | ARCHIVE | SCOTTISH NEWS

BREAKING NEWS

TOP NEWS

- JADE:** Her £3m legacy & battle over kids
- MURDER:** Wife had wild sex with gardener
- PHOTOS:** Soccer star's beach romp with TV babe
- MILF!** Meet the hottest mums in the UK
- FAT:** Britain's biggest teenager loses 20-stone

MORE NEWS >

TOP SHOWBIZ

- BUST-UP:** Why X Factor winner Alex lives in fear
- SLUMDOG:** Movie babe's dumped ex reveals all
- JILTED:** Pop star dumped me over EastEnders
- BOOBS:** My 32E bust got in way, says Kelly Brook
- S.A.D.S:** Who's the worst celebrity wildchild?

MORE SHOWBIZ >

TOP SPORT

- RAFA:** Anfield rocked by new quit threat
- CITY:** Sheikhs can't buy their way out of crisis

**WHAT A DOPE**

Scroll below to see a large version of this photo

**14-times Olympic gold medal winner Michael Phelps caught with cannabis pipe**

**WORLD EXCLUSIVE**

By Georgina Dickinson, 01/02/2009

**THIS is the astonishing picture which could destroy the career of the greatest competitor in Olympic history.**

In our exclusive photo Michael Phelps, who won a record EIGHT gold medals for swimming at the Beijing games last summer, draws from a bong.

**READ: I'M SORRY, SAYS MICHAEL PHELPS**

The glass pipes are generally used to smoke cannabis.

Top videos Top photos Top stories

**OSCARS Special Edition MovieTime**

- ☐ Movie Time: Oscars - Special Edition
- ☐ Jade: I love Jack
- ☐ Gastric op saved my life
- ☐ Is Posh too skinny?

Get **NEWS OF THE WORLD** on your mobile **FREE**  
For your free link text NOW to 85080 or type newsoftheworld.mobi into your phone browser

**SELL YOUR STORY FOR CASH** **CLICK HERE >>**

(Dickinson, 2009, February 1)

Figure 18

*A Google Search After the Publishing of Phelps's Drug Photo Revealed the Power of New Media in Altering a Sports Hero's Public Image*

Web Images Maps News Shopping Mail more ▼

Google michael phelps Search Advanced Search Preferences

Web News Images Video Books Blogs

**News results for michael phelps**


**Michael Phelps admits to smoking cannabis after bong picture is ...** - 2 hours ago  
**Michael Phelps** has admitted to smoking cannabis and apologised after a picture of the record-breaking Olympian with a bong pipe was published in a British ...  
[Times Online](#) - [603 related articles »](#)  
[Michael Phelps' Mom Shares ADHD Advice](#) - [MSNBC](#) - [58 related articles »](#)

**Michael Phelps - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia** [↑] [×]  
**Michael Fred Phelps** (born June 30, 1985) is an American swimmer. He has won 14 career Olympic gold medals, the most by any Olympian. By the end of 2008, ...  
[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael\\_Phelps](#) - 308k - [Cached](#) - [Similar pages](#) - [🗨]

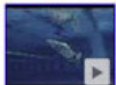
**SwimRoom** [↑] [×]  
Feb 1, 2009 ... **michael phelps**, ryan lochte, natalie coughlin, katie hoff, swimming. ... **Michael Phelps** Statement I engaged in behavior which was ...  
[www.swimroom.com/phelps](#) - 46k - 23 minutes ago - [Cached](#) - [Similar pages](#) - [🗨]

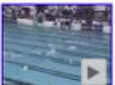
**Official site of Michael Phelps - World Champion and 16-time ...** [↑] [×]  
The official webpage for **Michael Phelps**. Includes Biography, Articles, Ask **Michael** section and much more...  
[www.michaelphelps.com/2004/english.html](#) - 3k - [Cached](#) - [Similar pages](#) - [🗨]

**Image results for michael phelps** - [Report images](#)



**Video results for michael phelps**

 **Michael Phelps freestyle multi angle camera**  
1 min 46 sec  
[www.youtube.com](#)

 **Michael Phelps World Record 200m Fly**  
4 min 26 sec  
[www.youtube.com](#)

**2008 Beijing Summer Olympics | Michael Phelps Profile & Bio ...** [↑] [×]  
Read the profile & biography of 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics athlete **Michael Phelps** online at NBCOlympics.com. View photos and videos, get the latest ...  
[www.nbcolympics.com/athletes/athlete=2/bio/](#) - 69k - [Cached](#) - [Similar pages](#) - [🗨]

**Michael Phelps | Facebook** [↑] [×]  
Aug 17, 2008 ... Welcome to the official Facebook Page of **Michael Phelps**. Get exclusive content and interact with **Michael Phelps** right from Facebook.  
[www.facebook.com/michaelphelps](#) - 176K - [Cached](#) - [Similar pages](#) - [🗨]

**Michael Phelps Bong Picture: Olympic Champion Caught Smoking ...** [↑] [×]  
Jan 31, 2009 ... **Michael Phelps** Bong Picture: Olympic Champion Caught Smoking Marijuana: UPDATED - The Huffington Post

Apparently, Phelps's spokesman was aware of the potential damage that could result from the photo and offered News of the World an extraordinary deal to entice the newspaper to kill the story (Dickinson, 2009, February 1). Knowing the potential of the photo to shelve Phelps's endorsement contracts and competition status, News of the World still decided to publish the photo and accompanying story on February 1, 2009. Journalists justify outing athletes for steroid use because sports heroes are expected to be role models for the youth (Denham, 2004). Therefore, by identifying the potential harm on adolescents, journalists are able to claim their responsibility for educating the public as motivation for their reports (Denham, 2004).

The prospect of athletic advantage was not the most controversial element of Phelps's drug scandal. Instead, the public expressed concern over his ability to serve as a positive role model, a crucial role for a sports hero (Oriard, 1982, as cited in Goodman et al., 2002; Hirschfeld, 2004). One Web 2.0 user exclaimed, "He is not setting a good example for all the kids that want to grow up and be in the Olympics!! Grow up...!!" (Percival, 2009, February 1, p. 1). Yet another user was more sympathetic but equally critical with the comment, "While he is young and stupid, you can't be doing this when you're an Olympic athlete and have endorsements from 'wholesome' companies who will have customers who won't be happy with this" (Percival, 2009, February 1, p. 1). According to Goodman (2002), these comments are correct in that audiences are influenced by both the positive and negative behaviours of a sports hero. This sentiment is furthered enforced by Carstairs (2003) who lists the responsibility for athletes to act as role models as a reason for prohibiting doping. According to Dietz-Uhler, End, Demakakos, Dickirson and Grantz (2002), fans will react passionately, either in support or opposition, to an athlete who has broken the law. However, as their study focused on athletes engaging in team sports, fan reaction to Phelps as an athlete in an individualised sport is unknown. Each of Phelps's endorsement companies will have to



analyse the damage of the negative publicity in relation to the effects the scandal will have on marginalising its consumers.

Phelps's image and behaviour may be subject to enhanced scrutiny than athletes participating in professional team sports. According to Carstairs (2003), this is due to the usually individualised national representation Olympic athletes are burdened to carry and the emotional connectedness citizens feel towards athletes representing their respective countries (Van Hoecke et al., 2000). Even when viewers have little investment in sports teams, they still find enjoyment in watching the contest (Wann, Royalty, & Rochelle, 2002). For Olympic competition, the viewers' enjoyment stems from national pride. However, whereas in team sports fan identification can minimise the loss of public support for a scandalised athlete (Fisher, 1998; Funk, Ridinger, & Moorman, 2004; Wann et al., 2002), Olympic sports are individually focused (Carstairs, 2003).

When fan support wanes for an Olympic sports hero participating in an individualised sport due to a damaged public image, certainly his endorsement value will suffer. Wann et al. (2002) suggested advertisers should utilise fan identification for team sports in marketing campaigns; yet Olympic athletes do not have the luxury of team identification to generate fans. With Western countries relying on their Olympic athletes to reaffirm their international worth (Morely & Robins, 1995; Nauright & Magdalinski, 2003), a scandalised Olympian's public image as a citizen is susceptible to criticism.

The vulnerability of an athlete's public image as a citizen is apparent when examining Canada's reaction to its confirmed anabolic steroid-using Olympic athlete, Ben Johnson (Johnson & Moore, 1988, October 3). The dual reactionary behaviour of Canadians revealed that when Johnson's wins were considered positive prior to his steroid confirmation he was judged as a Canadian by the nationals (Stelzl, Janes, & Seligman, 2008); however, his negative steroid-using behaviour then displaced him from the in-group, with Canadians

considering his public image as a citizen to be more Jamaican than Canadian (Stelzl et al., 2008), though his citizenship is Canadian. Reactions to disgraced athletes vary by countries and the integration of sport, fairness and integrity into national identities.

Negative endorser publicity is potentially detrimental to brands (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005; Till & Shimp, 1998), even without an admission of guilt. For example, in 1995 O. J. Simpson, a former sports hero from the NFL, was accused of murdering his ex-wife (Thagard, 2003). Prior to the charges, Simpson was considered a trustworthy endorser (BusinessWeek, 2009). Although he was acquitted, the power of his perceived guilt was strong enough to marginalise him as an endorser from consumers and become a liability for the brands he endorsed (Till & Shimp, 1998). Thagard (2003) awarded a degree of juror identification to Simpson's celebrity status as an influencing factor in his acquittal. However, the negative media attention tarnished Simpson's public image to such a state that it was unsalvageable, ultimately causing him to lose his endorsement contracts (BusinessWeek, 2009).

While a clean public image is beneficial in securing lucrative contracts, it does not necessarily amount to a profitable endorsement value. Charbonneau and Garland (2005) explained, "While positive attitudes consumers have concerning the celebrity or professional athlete can transfer onto the brand being endorsed, improving brand image, this does not mean that increased sales are guaranteed" (§ 2). This sentiment is furthered by British advertising managers who emphasised that a celebrity alone cannot lead to a successful advertising campaign (Erdogan & Baker, 1999). The media publicity that accompanies a sports hero, even if positive, will attract attention (Miciak & Shanklin, 1994) but does not necessarily translate to persuasiveness.

As has been noted, a public image integrates an athlete's stance as a sports hero with an admirable, recognisable personality (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990). Australian sponsors

experienced a lack of endorsement potentials on the 2008 Australian Olympic team because what was viewed as boring athletes with no media exposure prior to the Beijing Olympic Games (Canning, 2008, July 24). In short, the team lacked athletes who had reached the sports hero status. An endorser needs to have an exciting, likeable and perhaps most important, a well-known public image in order to attract a fan following and amplify his endorsement value.

In addition to analysing media publicity, there are other characteristics advertisers look for when selecting a celebrity endorser to represent a brand. The characteristics vary by culture (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005). One model US advertising practitioners use is called F.R.E.D.D. – Familiarity, Relevance, Esteem, Differentiation and Deportment (Miciak & Shanklin, 1994), characteristics revealing of an endorser's public image as a person. The characteristics were developed by Young & Rubicam, a global network of advertising and public relations firms, to analyse why brands fail and succeed ("Young & Rubicam Brands," n.d.), but were adapted by Miciak and Shanklin (1994) to apply to endorsers. The basis for the model is that the more category criteria a celebrity meets, the less of a risk that person is as an endorser. Debates exist as to which categories are most influential in motivating consumer-intent to purchase. For instance, Kamins (1989) established the significance of familiarity in the effectiveness of the spokesperson, whereas Van Hooeck et al. (2000) focus on endorser credibility.

While the F.R.E.D.D. factors are assessed separately, they are all linked to each other (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005). For example, in order for an endorser to be viewed as trustworthy, he has to be an appropriate match for the product being endorsed so the sincerity of his sponsorship is not challenged. Two categories of the model, relevance and esteem, deal with the issue of trust. While British practitioners do not target all of the characteristics in the F.R.E.D.D. model, there is overlap with the Americans regarding the attention and publicity

received by an endorser (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005). The endorser must be seen as trustworthy and credible in order to appeal to the consumers (Van Hoecke et al., 2000). New Zealand practitioners agree, indicating the fear of negative feelings towards an endorser being displaced onto the product (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005). Without that trust, the endorser lacks in the area of persuasiveness, an essential quality in motivating the masses.

Andre Agassi is an excellent example of an endorser who is able to motive the masses on a global level. With Agassi, a feeling of trust has been established between himself and the consumers because of his endorser longevity with brands (Dyson & Turco, 1998; Van Hoecke et al., 2000). This is especially important as a solid endorser/brand association minimises the damage caused by negative media publicity (Till & Shimp, 1998). Of course, a globally marketable public image is helpful in allowing a sports hero to secure a profitable income in addition to the athlete's sporting salary, but not all athletes need to be effective to that degree. In fact, companies are recognising the potential of using local sports heroes (Van Hoecke et al., 2000) to appeal to particular markets given that cultures evaluate endorsers differently and high-profile athletes are costly to employ (Dyson & Turco, 1998). Nike campaigns are examples of advertising campaigns that have integrated vary levels of celebrity for effective consumer appeal (Erdogan & Baker, 1999).

Nike understands the importance of admirable qualities in its endorsers. The word 'Nike' signifies the Greek goddess of victory (Krishnan, 1996). With ancient Greek warriors representing mortal heroes (Fishwick, 1985; Goodman et al., 2002), understandably then, Greek gods and goddesses were the ultimate heroes. In a more contemporary setting, Nike expresses its values through its athlete endorsers (Nike, 2007) who are idolised as mortal parallels to the gods (Surin, 2006). Therefore, it is no surprise that a global Nike campaign integrated visual and verbal components that were iconographical of heroism (Stevens et al., 2003), an admirable quality and one representative of the brand. Shuart (2007) considered a

heroic public image to be the greatest predictor in an endorser's ability to sell a product based on consumer intent-to-purchase. In essence, heroism translates to trustworthiness.

The admiration of heroic qualities is learned at an early age. Nike CEO and President, Mark Parker, claims that its endorsers represent "passion, commitment, competitive fire, being part of a team, the ability to overcome adversity" (Nike, 2007, p. 3), justifying the high cost of employing sports heroes. Nike endorsers portraying positive public images as role models are especially important for the brand because of its influence on children. Pechaux and Derbaix (1999) identified Nike as a familiar brand to 8 to 12 year old children. Atkin and Block (1983) explained that youths are more susceptible to celebrity influence than adults in terms of attitudes towards a product. Although according to Ohanian (1990) age does not have a significant impact on neither the consumers' evaluations of endorsers nor their purchasing behaviours, the study did not include child participants. Therefore, the significance of age as being influenced by endorsers was limited to adults. With evidence of steroid use occurring even at the high school level almost fifteen years ago (Greenhouse, 1995, June 27), the need for steroid-free sports hero endorsers is essential. Having favourable sports heroes is helpful to Nike as a brand in that the celebrity motivates adolescents in purchase-intent, brand loyalty and positive brand evaluations (Bush, Martin, & Bush, 2004). As such, the Nike brand is influencing children consumers through the endorsers portrayed in its campaigns.

For sports heroes, maintaining positive public images as athletes is important given the influence they have on audiences. When examining the effects that McGwire's use of Androstenedione (Brown et al., 2003) and creatine (Rawson & Clarkson, 2000) had on public knowledge of the dietary supplements in increasing awareness, curiosity and use of the supplement (Brown et al., 2003), the role that sports heroes play as cultural exemplars is undeniable. In 1998, the year that McGwire broke the homerun record, creatine sold over

US\$100 million (Brown et al., 2003), demonstrating some truth to journalists' reasoning for reporting clouds of suspicion because of celebrity influence (Denham, 2004).

The legalisation of the supplements stood at the time of McGwire's consumption, though he discontinued use of Androstenedione when health risks posed by the drug were presented (Denham, 2000). According to Bird and Wagner (1997), "...an athlete who has already used a drug of uncertain status cannot be prosecuted after the fact" (§ 17). Currently, Androstenedione is a banned substance in baseball, yet McGwire is punished by a cloud of suspicion, partly due to accusatory and irresponsible journalists making claims without the support credible sources (Denham, 2000). Compounding the efforts of professional journalists are Web 2.0 users who publish bias and erroneous information. Certainly, the credibility McGwire public image as an athlete has been damaged as evident in his rejection from the Baseball Hall of Fame (Sheinin, 2005, March 18). Perhaps the societal norm of steroid rejection is stronger than unconfirmed steroid rumours in dictating a sports hero's portrayal as a role model.

For athletes portraying positive public images representative of being sports heroes, opportunities are more available for achieving international success as appealing endorsers. Jones and Schumann (2000) explained that companies desire athletes who have "accepted public images, and high credibility" (p. 66). Atkin and Block (1983) suggested that the higher the level of credibility an endorser has, the greater the endorser's persuasive ability. This is due to the dimensions of credibility being constructed of expertise or competence in using the product being endorsed (Miciak & Shanklin, 1994).

Legally, athletes cannot claim to be experts on products as they lack the appropriate credentials (Friedman et al., 1978). Even so, consumers perceive endorsers to be experts (Ohanian, 1990), particularly male sports heroes (Peetz et al., 2004). This affiliation towards male sports hero endorsers may be a prolonged effect of the ancient Olympic competition

being restricted to male competitors (Reid, 2006). Although the Olympics are now open to men and women, Billings and Angelini (2007) noted that male athletes received more media coverage during the 2004 Athens Summer Olympics than female athletes. As media exposure solidifies stereotypes and cultural norms (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994), its perpetual emphasis on male athletes solidifies the stereotype that males more athletically talented than females and therefore, are more effective at endorsing sporting products. As such, consumers buy the products male sports heroes endorse based on their favourable public images (Dean & Biswas, 2001). Arguably, a sports hero free from a cloud of suspicion will then be viewed as credible as his public image is perceived favourably rather than questionably.

Of course, a sports hero endorser is most effective at promoting sports-related products (Arndorfer, 2002; Charbonneau & Garland, 2005; Miciak & Shanklin, 1994), making the consumer assumption of viewing the sports hero as an expert an understandable error. Yet other factors are influential in the persuasiveness of an endorser's public image. Till and Busler (2000) suggested consumers found attractive endorsers to be more effective. This could be due to Ohanian's (1990) claim that print advertisement endorsers tend to be physically appealing, habituating consumers to routine exposure to attractiveness. Yet, British advertising managers indicated a neutral stance on the importance of an endorser to be attractive (Erdogan et al., 2001). One British advertising manager explained that the assessment of celebrity attractiveness is difficult in that the person is so well-known that it is difficult to assess a celebrity's effectiveness as an endorser simply based on physical appearance (Erdogan & Baker, 1999; Erdogan et al., 2001). In a more utilitarian manner, Kamins (1990) found the use of an attractive celebrity was only a significantly effective variable for products that are designed to enhance attractiveness in terms of lifestyle and physical beauty. For a sports hero, physical attractiveness, or lack thereof, may be unimportant, particularly if he is sponsoring sports-related products. But for athletes

participating in team sports, being physically attractive may help them stand out as an individual (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990). In that regard, physical attractiveness may be influential in a sports hero's ability to secure lucrative contracts to endorse non-sports related products.

Denham (2007) claimed that steroid allegations are beneficial for the media, but the potential benefit for a brand is unknown. Miciak and Shanklin (1994) acknowledged that negative celebrity endorser information is not always detrimental for a brand, but usually is not advantageous. The ability of confirmed doping athletes to improve their popularity and marketability has been established (Carstairs, 2003). As Carstairs (2003) explained, "The spectacle of seeing heroes fall, especially when it involves national pride, is a compelling one, but it does not mean that people are particularly surprised, disillusioned, or angered by doping" (p. 276). It could be that the public is immune to steroid allegations at this point.

Athletes are offering speculation as to the prevalence of anabolic steroid use in sport. For example, weeks prior to her 2008 Beijing Olympic competition Australian track-and-field athlete, Tamsyn Lewis, publicly proclaimed her belief she would be competing against cheaters (Wilson, 2008, August 6). Moreover, with disgraced Olympiad Ben Johnson claiming that every internationally competing athlete is using performance-enhancing drugs (Associated Press, 2007, October 12), the public's reaction is no longer that of surprise. The lack of public retort is almost anticipated given that even in 1975, 31% of elite Swedish track-and-field athletes admitted to using anabolic steroids (Ljungqvist, 1975). Therefore, Johnson's claim that he had been competing in an era where steroid consumption was the norm, and denial was a must (Brunt, 2000) is not entirely farfetched.

Though refutation of allegations is a popular choice of reaction to a cloud of suspicion, the approach of denying any steroid wrongdoing appears to be slightly changing. A number of baseball players identified as steroid users in the Mitchell Report followed the



report's publication with confirmation of using human growth hormone (HGH), a banned synthetic substance ("Pettitte admits to using H.G.H and apologizes," 2007, December 15; Schmidt, 2008, April 11). However, truthfulness after cheating does not equate to condoning steroid use.

Louie and Obermill (2002) identified a brand's ability to capitalise financially by employing a low-blame level endorser and gaining sympathy support from consumers. Unfortunately, the level of blame associated with a cloud of suspicion is unknown, thereby making the risk assessment of employing the accused sports hero uncertain because no guilt has been proven to substantiate the claims. Based on Till and Shimp's (1998) research, assuming the negative publicity from the accusations would have a negative effect on the brand is understandable. Moreover, advertising managers viewed the risk of controversy to be an important factor in selecting a celebrity endorser as assessed on a 5-point likert scale (Erdogan & Baker, 1999). However, given that consumers view celebrities as possessing individual traits (Ohanian, 1990), and with clouds of suspicion varying in strength, the negative media publicity and presumed guilt will vary according to sports heroes' public images prior to the allegations.

Avoiding negative publicity is just as important to the endorser as it is to the brand. Sports marketing firms have commented on athletes' scandals causing sponsors to balk at signing endorsers (Canning, 2007, October 4). Unlike other studies which focused on the influence negative celebrity publicity has on a brand, Till (2001) examined the effect of a brand on an endorser's public image. His study evidenced the influential power of a product on the audience's evaluation of the endorser. For example, endorsing a socially negatively viewed product, such as tobacco, will lower consumers' perception of the endorser more so than if he sponsored a more positively perceived product, such as orange juice. Given the expected transference of values from the endorser to the brand and vice versa, the negative

feelings associated with a product could be displaced to the endorser (Till & Shimp, 1998). Because a brand and a consumer become associated in the minds of consumers, negative information about one half of the relationship may domino unto the other half. In other words, negative endorser information may adversely affect the brand, and likewise, negative brand information may be detrimental to the endorser's public image. Unfortunately, by endorsing a negatively perceived brand, a sports hero's social credibility is vulnerable to questioning.

Advertising practitioners and consumers are at odds over the perceived importance of specific factors in the effectiveness of a celebrity endorser. According to British advertising managers, the state of an endorser being a brand user is unimportant in the decision to employ a celebrity for sponsorship (Erdogan & Baker, 1999). Contrary to the advertising managers' stance, Silvera and Austad's (2004) findings suggested consumers questioned endorsers' sincerity in the products being endorsed. However, these conflicting results are plausible when considering Tripp, Jensen and Carlson's (1994) study demonstrated a negative impact on audience attitudes towards endorsers and the advertisement as the number of products the endorsers sponsored increased. While the number of endorsements a celebrity has may not trouble practitioners, they were concerned with the content of prior endorsements (Erdogan & Baker, 1999). When considering an endorser is financially compensated to promote a brand, the caution demonstrated by consumers towards the endorser's sincerity is almost expected.

To combat consumer weariness Dean and Biswas (2001) supported third-party organisations as being more effective endorsing products of high financial risk as their credibility is comprised of both expertise and trustworthiness verses a celebrity's credibility which is based primarily on trustworthiness. However, the celebrity's media publicity can draw attention to the brand and are therefore more appropriate for low financial risk products

(Dean & Biswas, 2001). A sports hero's positive public image as potential consumer appeal with endorser effectiveness resulting from increased media exposure.

Not only is a sports hero's trustworthy public image vulnerable when a cloud of suspicion surmounts, it could also be damaged as his number of endorsement contracts increases. Sports heroes have demonstrated the ability to engage in multiple sponsorships without detrimentally affecting consumer attitudes. Eagley and Chaiken (as cited in Pechaux & Derbaix, 1999) defined attitude in relation to a brand as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a brand with some degree of favo[u]r or disfavo[u]r" (p. 21). Fazio, Powell and Williams (1989) explained an attitude as being influenced by consumers' previous experiences with the product. A positive experience garners a positive attitude (Fazio et al., 1989). Likewise, a negative experience fosters a negative attitude (Fazio et al., 1989). Practitioners seek to access the positive consumer attitude when selecting an endorser. As commercials are generally perceived as intrusions or disruptions, the aim of using a celebrity endorser is to decrease the negativity associated with the television advertisements (Erdogan et al., 2001). Clearly, audience attitudes towards the endorser and/or the brand are instrumental in a campaign's effectiveness.

The success of celebrity endorsers with positive public images in selling a brand has been established from the view points of both advertisers and consumers (Erdogan & Baker, 1999; Erdogan et al., 2001; Peetz et al., 2004), contrasting Silvera and Austad's (2004) study as well as Tripp et al.'s (1994) research. Being viewed as trustworthy and credible can counteract perceived selfishness derived from the fact that endorsers are actually paid to promote products (Kamen, Azhari, & Kragh, 1975). Indeed, the benefit of using a celebrity is clear based on Atkin and Block's (1983) research which demonstrated celebrities are perceived as more trustworthy than unknown endorsers. This is a result of consumers becoming acquainted with athletes through media exposure, and therefore, creating a close

association with the portrayed public images of the athletes (Goodman et al., 2002). Selecting an endorser is haphazard (Louie & Obermiller, 2002; McCracken, 1989; Miciak & Shanklin, 1994; Ohanian, 1990), however, Porpitakpan's (2003) recent research confirmed the benefits of celebrity endorsement by validation Ohanian's (1990) scale to reduce the risk in the celebrity endorser selection process.

Selecting endorsers with the characteristics as perceived by consumers to be appropriate for a brand or product is imperative to a campaign's success. Ohanian's (1990) research revealed participants viewed celebrities as individuals with distinct characteristics, complementing subsequent research (Till, 2001; Till & Busler, 2000) suggesting the endorser's and the brand's characteristics need to correspond. Dyson and Turco (1998) explained that "when a negative image of the celebrity is portrayed, a tarnished picture is also painted for the organi[s]ation, making it difficult to gain consumer trust to buy the product" (§ 6). Consequently, brands employ well-known, favourably perceived endorsers with the hope that the positive attitudes associated with the endorsers will transfer to the brands. According to Fazio et al. (1989), more passionate attitudes, either positive or negative, are more easily accessed than neutral attitudes. These attitudes are influenced by previous experiences, both direct and indirect, and are predictive of attitude-behaviour consistency (Berger & Mitchell, 1989). As a result, extreme attitudes at either end of the spectrum are more consistent than neutral attitudes, which are not as easily accessed (Fazio et al., 1989). By employing a sports hero with a positive public image, companies aim to access consumers' passionately positive attitudes in favour of the athlete given his sports hero status.

Though research exists to counter the effectiveness of celebrity endorsers, advertisers continue to employ sports heroes to sponsor product and brand endorsement. According to Atkin and Block (1983), a celebrity is perceived as more trustworthy than an unknown endorser. The media's role in consumers' attaching a positive public image to an athlete is

clear. Media publicity portrays a sports hero's public image to consumers (Lines, 2001), producing a favourable, unfavourable or neutral attitude. Presumably, a sports hero that receives positive media publicity will garner positive audience reactions. As a celebrity endorser serves as a representation of the brand and its values (Atkin & Block, 1983; Kamins, 1990), a sports hero endorser will positively represent a brand with corresponding values to his own.

Admittedly, there have been effective endorsers who lack a positive public image, thereby eliminating the requirement for a sports hero to be regarded as a role model. However, not all fans will evaluate a sports hero's rebellious actions as anti-heroic (Vande Berg, 1998). Louie and Obermiller (2002) explained that negative media publicity will be evaluated differently based on the endorser's level of blame in the incident. In low blame incidents, the company could actually benefit by retaining the endorser whereas with a high blame incident, the company is negatively affected if it does not dismiss the endorser (Louie & Obermiller, 2002). Unfortunately, the authors could not solidly define low and high incidents as levels of blames vary by cultures. US consumers, for example, may react differently than Australian consumers over a sports hero coming under a cloud of suspicion. While Australian athletes are noticeably absent from existing from the cloud of suspicion (Ferguson, 2007), US athletes continue to be the focus of media allegations.

Based on Fazio et al.'s (1989) argument, if a consumer's exposure to an athlete surrounded by a cloud of suspicion has only been negative media publicity over steroid allegations, that athlete could not be an effective endorser as he is associated with negative feelings. Moreover, if a consumer was passionately against the athlete prior to the allegations, the level of blame would be irrelevant. Likewise, if a consumer was a fan prior to the athlete's steroid allegations, even negative publicity would access positive feelings based on experience, resulting in a positive attitude and the remaining effectiveness of the athlete as an

endorser. It appears that the overall evaluations of levels of blame need to be accessed as individual instances.

Louie and Obermill's (2002) analysis of levels of blame can be applied to Phelps's drug incident to highlight the subjectivity of guilt. It has already be established that Kellogg's was justified in dismissing Phelps as endorser based on his indiscretion, revealing characteristics that fail to match that of the Kellogg's company and its targeted consumers. According to previous examples examined by the authors (Louie & Obermiller, 2002), Phelps's incident would classify as a high blame level. However, given the controversy involved with legalising marijuana in the US (CBS News/New York Times, 2009, February 1) and its insignificant side effects on an athlete's performance (U.S. Department of Justice Drug Enforcement Administration, 2005), his incident could register as low blame in the overall issue of drug use.

This again highlights the significance of cultural implications of societal values and beliefs. Phelps's mishap was potentially catastrophic for his endorsements in China (Zinser, 2009, February 13), a country with a staunch anti-drug stance (Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the United States of America, 2006, August 17) and a reputation for condemning steroid using athletes (Carstairs, 2003). For example, when members of the Chinese swim team tested positive at the 1998 World Swimming Championships in Sydney, the media and fans retaliated against the entire team, not just the confirmed steroid users (Carstairs, 2003). This incident served as a catalyst for China to adopt a strict anti-doping stance in order to salvage its bid for the 2008 Olympics ("Scandal free: China's drug enforcer promises only clean tests in Sydney," 2000, July 6), ironic considering it was Phelps's performance at the 2009 Beijing Olympics that won him the plethora of endorsement contracts.

Based on the preceding experience and the established fan reaction, Phelps issued a videorecorded apology to the Chinese people, as portrayed in Figure 19, at the request of his Chinese endorsement company, Mazda, and was able to salvage his contract (Zinser, 2009, February 13). Though the apology was specifically targeted to the Chinese, it is globally assessable from its upload to the YouTube web site. While the Chinese view Phelps's behaviour as a high level of blame, Americans are more moderate. With this in mind, the Chinese company honoured its endorsement contract with Phelps whereas an American company chose to severed ties with the disgraced athlete. Phelps's implied admission to drug use garnered negative media publicity denting, but not tainting, his public image.

Figure 19

*Phelps's Chinese-Directed Apology can be Viewed Globally on YouTube*



(YouTube, 2009b)

There are instances when a non-conforming demeanour has been publicly embraced (Jones & Schumann, 2000). However, this is most effectively executed when the athlete is

rebellious for a social cause (Vande Berg, 1998). For example, retaliation from the African-American and Latino MLB players over separatist treatment compared to their white counterparts prior to 1961 (Lomax, 2004) was justified in that it was a social cause for equality. Rather than focusing on the social causes emphasised by the unruly athletes, the media have been criticised for focusing on outlandish and rude athletes over their more well-behaved counterparts (Peart, 1996). Yet although more “thuggish professional athletes” (Lane, 1996, ¶ 5) may receive an enhanced degree of media attention, Friedman et al. (1978) conclude that high-profile celebrities who are perceived favourably for their talents receive more positive media publicity and therefore, more recognisable to the public than their rebellious counterparts. As a result, sports heroes known for their athletic accomplishments rather than for clouds of suspicion are more desirable endorsers.

The media is instrumental in developing and highlighting the difference in public images of black and white athletes. The racial athletic stereotype of black athletes being more naturally talented than their white counterparts that has been perpetuated by the media (Billings, 2003, 2004; Denham, Billings, & Halone, 2002; Lombardo, 1978) is intensified by the misconception that the black minority no longer face discrimination based on the number of black athletes participating in sport being disproportionate to the US population (Hoberman, 1997). As Lapchick (2000) explained, “Whites tend to ‘think black’ when they think about the major sports” (p. 14), perhaps as a result of a white-dominated sports media (Lombardo, 1978). Sports broadcasters reinforce racial stereotypes with their play-by-play commentary of the game (Billings, 2004; Denham, Billings, & Halone, 2002; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005), however the depiction of blacks as athletic is evidenced in photographs from the 1890s to the 1950s (Bale, 1998). The images of native Rwandans engaging in cultural dance and entertainment were viewed by Europeans and North American as athletic activities that could be translated into Western sport (Bale, 1998). As a result, a perceived



public image stereotype of black athletes as naturally muscular, lazy, barbaric and lacking intellect was created and continues to be perpetuated.

Given this general public image applied to black athletes, presumably, black sports heroes would be most effective as endorsers strictly for sporting products. Yet black sports heroes exist who have broken the mould of this public image, demonstrating the black athletic stereotype can be overcome to generate a lucrative endorsement value. Michael Jordan and Tiger Woods not only became fan-favourite endorsers in the US, but were also regarded as idolised sports heroes in Australia, obtaining endorsement contracts for sporting and non-sporting related products (Roach, 2006, September 2). While both athletes have been subject to public scrutiny – Jordan for his gambling habits and Woods for his emotional outbursts on the golf course and marital indiscretions – notably, neither Jordan nor Woods have ever had public images existing under clouds of suspicion in regards to steroid allegations.

The effect of a cloud of suspicion on a black sports hero's public image is unclear. Lapchick (2000) highlights a societal perception of the black community, including black athletes, as drugs users, a stereotype cultivated by the media. If this perception is indeed accurate of the public's beliefs, black athletes would then be considered to engage in illegal steroid consumption. The American public's sentiment of Bonds being a steroid user even without a positive drug test (Becker & Scheufele, 2008) documents the inferior perception of blacks athletes' morality. However, this drug use stereotype is almost contradictory to the racial athletic stereotype that depicts black athletes as naturally talented. With the case of the latter, presumably white athletes would be more likely to engage in steroid use in an effort to compete with the more talented black athletes. However, research has shown that the public perceives blacks to be unlawful, unintelligent (Devine, 1989; Devine & Baker, 1991; Devine & Elliot, 1995) and unmotivated (Smith, 1990, as cited in Sigelman & Tuch, 1997).

The unenthusiastic perception of the black population would suggest that race was indeed, an issue in Bonds's steroid investigation. Yet an ESPN/ABC news poll (2007, May 6) revealed that of the 25% of white respondents who believed Bonds has been treated unfairly, virtually none (1%) attribute the treatment to race. Instead, 66% of white respondents attributed the unfair treatment to a cloud of suspicion. The white respondents' disposition against Bonds's steroid use rather than his race may be explained according to their prejudice levels. Christiansen, Kaplan and Jones (1999) found that low-prejudice people can suppress negative reaction to stereotypical behaviour better than high-prejudice people. Although drug use may be viewed as stereotypical of the black community (Lapchick, 2000), the reaction to steroid allegations against Bonds could have been a reaction to his media-unfriendly, difficult temperament (Gaffney, 2007, June 1; Henry, 2006; Miciak & Shanklin, 1994) rather than the colour of his skin. Whatever the reason, Bonds's unfavourably perceived public image, partially resulting from a cloud of suspicion and subsequent steroid confirmation (ABC News/ESPN., 2007, May 6), is clearly considered too high of a risk to be marketed as an endorser, causing his endorsement value to decrease.

Based on the previously discussed literature the following hypotheses are predicted:

- H1: A cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use will diminish positive audience attitudes towards a sports hero in his public image role as an athlete.
- H2: A cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use will diminish positive audience attitudes towards a sports hero in his public image role as a person.
- H3: A cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use will diminish positive audience attitudes towards a sports hero in his public image role as a citizen.
- H4: A cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use will have a negative effect of a sports hero's perceived endorsement value.

While the literature gives confidence about the general relationship between a cloud of suspicion and audience attitudes towards an athlete, it offers less guidance on race differences. Research has been conducted documenting media perspectives in perpetuating stereotypes on racially different athletes, yet data depicting the response of consumers in relation to the athletic stereotypes is lacking. Therefore, the following research questions will be investigated:

- RQ1a: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use diminish positive audience attitudes towards the white sports hero in his public image role as an athlete?
- RQ1b: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use diminish positive audience attitudes towards a black sports hero in his public image role as an athlete?
- RQ2a: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use diminish positive audience attitudes towards the white sports hero in his public image role as a person?
- RQ2b: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use diminish positive audience attitudes towards a black sports hero in his public image role as a person?
- RQ3a: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use diminish positive audience attitudes towards a white sports hero in his public image role as a citizen?
- RQ3b: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use diminish positive audience attitudes towards a black sports hero in his public image role as a citizen?
- RQ4a: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use have a negative effect on a white sports hero's perceived endorsement value?
- RQ4b: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use have a negative effect on a black sports hero's perceived endorsement value?

## Chapter 4

### *Methodology*

Social research seeks to explain actions and behaviours in the social world (McNeill & Chapman, 2005) through the eyes of the participants themselves (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). One way in which this can be achieved is by utilising the classic experiment approach reliant on “three major pairs of components: (1) independent and dependent variables, (2) pretesting and posttesting, and (3) experimental and control groups” (Babbie, 2004, pp. 221-222). These factors are taken into account during the conceptualisation process and are reflected in the experiment operationalisation through either close-ended (quantitative) or open-ended (qualitative) questions. When conducting quantitative research, participants’ closed-ended responses are converted to numerical code for statistical processing purposes (Neuman, 2006). According to Salkind (p. 3), statistics is simply “the science of organi[s]ing and analy[s]ing information to make the information more easily understood” (p. 3). This was accomplished through the use of descriptive and inferential statistics by describing the sample’s characteristics and inferring its attitudes based on responses (Salkind, 2005).

But quantitative research does not exist without its critics who prefer qualitative data. According to DeCuir-Gunby (2008), “Purist camps on both sides question the opposing viewpoints’ usefulness in social research” (p. 125). However, rather than approaching these two methods as opponents, adopting a complementary paradigm provides a more comprehensive perspective, provided that the methods chosen enhance each other (DeCuir-Gunby, 2008). Campbell and Fiske’s (1959) grounding of mixed method described its importance in relation to validity. They explained, “In order to examine discriminant validity, and in order to estimate the relative contributions of trait and method variance, more than one trait as well as more than one method must be employed in the validation process” (p. 81). For this reason, a mixed method approach was adopted while embracing a statistical inclination. For instance, even open-ended questions can be converted into numerical code

for statistical purposes, but it first involves identifying themes and categories for the answers to be allocated (Sarantakos, 2005). For statistical analysis to be used, a minimum of thirty participants is necessary (Cohen et al., 2007) in order for the research to be applied to and make claims in regards to social actions in a particular setting (Salkind, 2005). Therefore, in order for statistical analysis to be utilised for comprehension and explanation of attitudes, a classic experiment approach was the basis for Study 1 with a large sample, but was expanded to the Solomon four-group design.

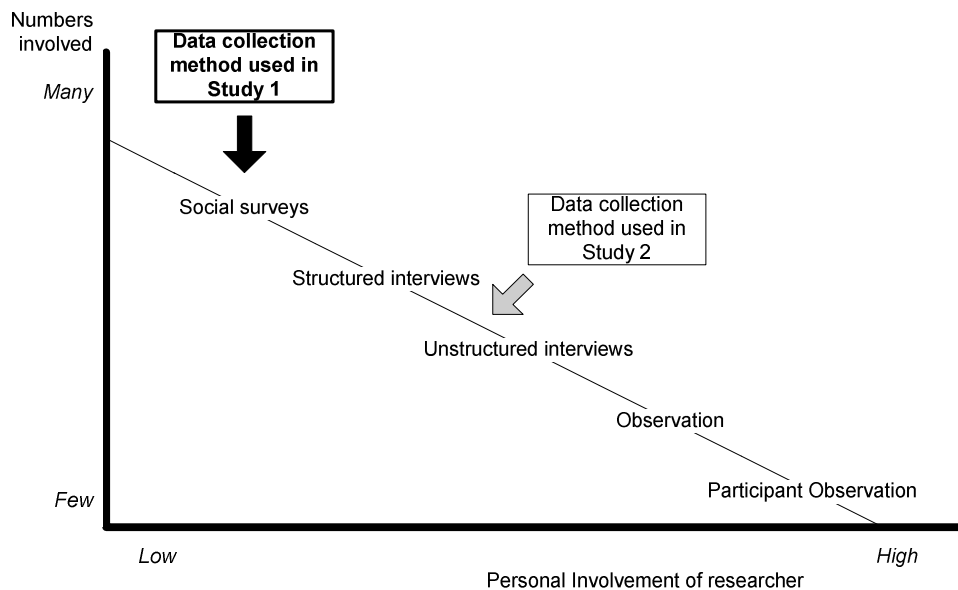
### *Study 1*

A total of two hundred and fifty-nine ( $n = 259$ ) undergraduate students from a private Australian university were recruited from an introductory communication course for voluntary participation. Refusal to participate had no ill effect on a student's final mark in that course. While this blended opportunistic purposive sample cannot be generalised to the Australian population as a whole (Cohen et al., 2007), it can be generalised to the university's population, or indeed, to the Australian university undergraduate population due to the large sample size. According to Shadish, Cook and Campbell (2002) universities can present environments in which there are enough variations of subsets, or departments, that allow for generalisability. It should be noted that while the introductory course was chosen for its convenient element, it was also purposively chosen for its broad student pool as it is a required course for students from all faculties within the university. In purposive sampling, participants are chosen at the researcher's discretion for their suitability to the research topic (Sarantakos, 2005). With the wide range of students it was safe to assume there would be varying levels of interest in sport, and that the students have all engaged in the product purchasing process at some point, classifying them as consumers. Therefore, this sample is representative of the university's undergraduate population.

A familiar benefit of using an opportunistic purposive sample is that it allows a large sample to be obtained conveniently and for little cost (Maisel & Persell, 1996). However, another benefit lies in the researcher's emotional attachment. Social surveys require a large sample size in order to allow inferences about the population of interest from the sample at hand (Heiman, 2004). In doing so, the researcher's emotional attachment to participant responses is diminished as compared to participant observation method of research, which has the highest degree of emotional involvement (McNeill & Chapman, 2005). The varying levels of involvement in relation to sample size are reflected in Figure 20. The higher the personal involvement, the fewer the number of participants needed for the methodology (McNeill & Chapman, 2005). Because there are benefits and drawbacks to every method, having a mixed method of data collection reflects a more comprehensive study. However, with the utilisation of statistical analysis, the researcher's loss in personal attachment to participants with a survey method can be vindicated in validity and reliability.

Figure 20

*The Survey Method of Data Collection used in Study 1 Entailed a Large Sample Size with Low Researcher Involvement*



Note: Adapted from Worsley (1977) as cited in McNeill and Chapman (2005, p. 23).

Measurement is crucial in social scientific research to determine the legitimacy of results. Babbie (2007) defined measurement as “careful, deliberate observations of the real world for the purpose of describing objects and events in terms of attributes composing a variable” (p. 121). In other words, it involves a detailed plan for empirical observation of abstract concepts (Riley, 1963). Two elements taken into consideration when developing instruments for measurement are validity and reliability, or legitimacy and consistency (Carmines & Zeller, 1979). These are qualities that researchers strive to achieve through thorough measurement.

In addition to the validity and reliability aspects of using statistical inferences, a large sample size is beneficial for measuring the accuracy of quantitative research. As Berger explained (2000), “The larger the sample, the more confidence [the researcher] can have that [his or her] findings will be accurate” (p. 203). This is a result of the relationship between

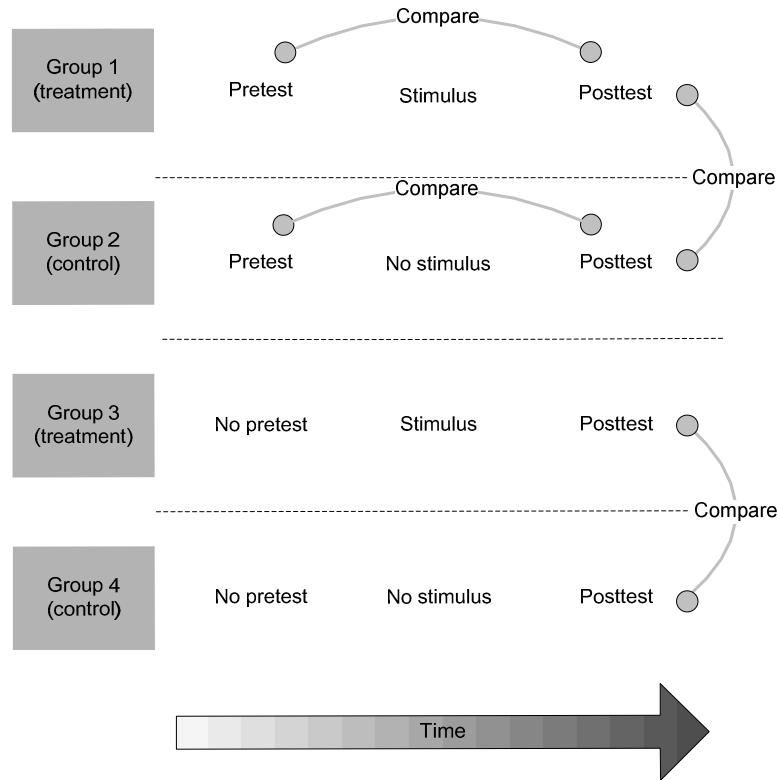


sample size and standard error. Simply put, standard error refers to the difference in means between the sample and the population (Cohen et al., 2007). However, this difference is decreased as the sample size is increased (Berger, 2000). The benefit of increasing the number of participants in order to increase the confidence of obtaining accurate results is distinctive. Accordingly, a research plan was constructed in order to meet the needs of a large sample size and achieve a thorough standard of measurement.

A Solomon four-group design and a posttest-only control group design were combined to serve as the template for the first phase of the cross-sectional survey administered in Study 1. A Solomon four-group design involves four experimental groups with participants randomly assigned (Babbie, 2004). Groups 1 and 2 receive a pretest as well as a posttest, Groups 3 and 4 receive a posttest only, and a stimulus is exposed to Groups 1 and 3 (Babbie, 2004). This arrangement is portrayed in Figure 21. While participants in Study 1 were divided into four equal groups – two treatment groups and two control groups – no pretest was involved. Within the Solomon four-group design, Groups 3 and 4 are the posttest only members (Babbie, 2004). However, Campbell and Stanley (1963) argued that if properly randomised, these two groups are the only ones needed for a true experiment. Hence, conducting an experiment with posttest only groups still measures for internal invalidity, or whether the cause-and-effect from a stimulus is reflective of the intended result of the experiment (Babbie, 2007). In fact, limiting the study to strictly stimulus and posttest can help maintain internal validity by reducing the risk of participants becoming sensitive to the purpose of the study after the initial pretest exposure (Babbie, 2007).

Figure 21

*The Solomon Four-Group Template Uses Four Experiment Groups to Make Statistical Comparisons After a Posttest has been Conducted*



Note: Adapted from Babbie (2007, p. 233).

A number of steps were taken in order to eliminate the potential of internal invalidity due to external factors. Necessarily, all participants were spaced adequately enough so as to ensure privacy, as individual rather than collaborative answers were desired. This was accomplished in a classroom setting, with the teachers vacating the rooms when the study began in order to avoid power dependency. According to Leone and Burns (1997), social power is “the desire to exercise influence over others” (p. 256). Participants feeling pressured to partake in the study due to the presence of an individual in an authority position could have influenced their answers; hence, it was essential for potentially perceived social power to be eliminated from the environment.

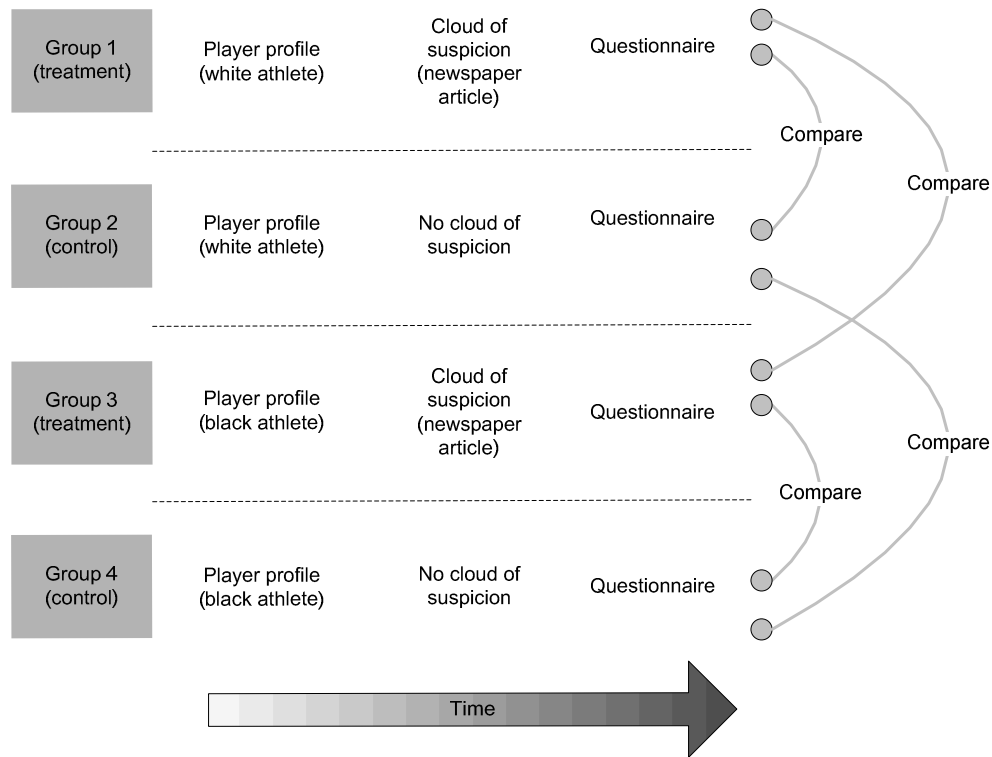
Admittedly, conducting a self-administered questionnaire with the researcher present did threaten with the potential feeling of participant obligation to complete the survey (Cohen et al., 2007), however, as a number of students chose not to comply it can be concluded that power dependency was minimal. A present researcher helped to gather correctly completed questionnaires (Cohen et al., 2007), helping to achieve internal validity by maintaining a high participant response rate. Instructions were then read to the participants with the main purpose of the study concealed in order to obtain unbiased answers from the participants (Cohen et al., 2007), another necessary step to secure authentic participant responses and internal validity.

#### *Instruments.*

There was a noted focus on internal validity over external validity for this study because of the opportunistic purposive sample. This was taken into account throughout the instrument development process. For example, the classroom setting facilitated an effectively short time frame for which all paper instruments to be administered concurrently, generating a high participant response rate. Participants received varying numbers of instruments depending on the group in which they were allocated (see Figure 22), with group names being reflective of stimulus status and skin colour: (1) cloud of suspicion for the white athlete, (2) no cloud of suspicion for the white athlete, (3) cloud of suspicion for the black athlete, and (4) no cloud of suspicion for the black athlete. For data analysis, four comparisons will be made throughout the groups. The cloud of suspicion and no cloud of suspicion for the white athlete will be compared, as will the groups for the black athlete. Similarly, groups will also be compared bi-racially, according to a cloud of suspicion or a lack thereof. These comparisons are reflected in Figure 22.

Figure 22

*Study 1 Modified the Solomon Four-Group Format by Eliminating the Prettest but Posttest Statistical Comparisons Remained*



Note: Adapted from Babbie (2007, p. 233).

### SPORTS HERO

Participants were randomly assigned to groups; however, as students tend to sit next to their closest peer group in the classroom setting, instruments were administered by alternating among the four experimental groups. All groups were supplied with a colour image of either a black or white unrecognisable male athlete on a player profile regardless of stimulus status, operationalising the athlete aspect of sports hero. Research has shown that anabolic steroid use is more prevalent in males than females (Pallesen et al., 2006) and that male sports heroes are more effective at endorsing sporting products than females (Peetz et al., 2004). Therefore, fictional male athletes were created for authenticity in measuring the effect of a cloud of suspicion on endorsement value.

Group 1 (treatment with cloud of suspicion) and Group 2 (control with no cloud of suspicion) evaluated the white athlete (see Appendix A), while Group 3 (treatment with cloud of suspicion) and Group 4 (control with no cloud of suspicion) evaluated the black athlete (see Appendix B). The race of the athlete, either white or black, was the variable measured for sports hero. In order for the race to be viewed, images on the profiles were close-ups of two athletic-looking males, one black and one white, allowing the participants to view clear and realistic images of the athletes' muscular physiques and swimming attire. Providing athletes with muscular physiques was intended to offer authenticity to the study by using athletes with physical builds that are muscular enough to pass for steroid use, but subtle enough that steroid use would not be obvious. Importantly, while their bodies are exposed, their faces are not to decrease the effect of physical attractiveness. According to Till and Busler (2000), consumers view attractive individuals as more effective endorsers. Moreover, Brown (1986) acknowledged that physically attractive individuals are viewed as possessing positive characteristics. For those reasons, the swim caps and goggles masking the athletes' identities serve as a means of minimising the effects of attractiveness on the participants' judgements in the hope that participants based their answers solely on the written information with which they were provided.

The profiles were identical for both athletes, including the name, and described the athlete's backgrounds, personal information, and professional accomplishments as members of the US Olympic swimming team; only the photographs differed. In order to elevate the athletes to the sports hero status and operationalise the champion aspect of sports hero, a section describing an unselfish goodwill act was also included on the profile, making it more likely for the athlete to receive media attention and for Nike to want to secure the athlete as an endorser. While the athlete in the study was meant to portray a sports hero, the purpose of using a fictional athlete was to eliminate the possibility of participants applying previous

knowledge associated with a real athlete to the foil athlete in this study. This also eliminated the potential of the audience forming evaluations of the athlete based on memory rather than immediate information as described by person perception (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). For example, a participant may have a bias of steroid use being more prevalent in certain sports based on previous experiences.

The choice of represented sport and athlete were crucial. Unlike some sports in which the beneficial effects of steroid use are inconclusive, swimming is a sport in which one of its competitors would clearly have an advantage over an opponent by injecting or ingesting steroids because of the increased tolerance to exercise when anabolic steroids are used (Juhn, 2003). In addition to the plausibility of a swimmer actually using anabolic steroids as a means of succeeding in the sport, an Olympic swimmer was also an appropriate choice as there are many members on an Olympic swimming team, thereby making it more believable for participants to be unfamiliar with that athlete. Importantly, swimming is a popular Olympic sport that receives enhanced media coverage (Billings & Angelini, 2007) in the US and Australia. In fact, during the 2004 Athens Olympic Games Australian swimmer Ian Thorpe received the fifth largest amount of mentions on NBC, the US Olympic broadcaster (Billings & Angelini, 2007). Competitive swimming has always been a sport in which Australians excelled (Bloomfield, 2003), therefore, the sporting choice of swimming was appropriate for an Australian sample.

As mentioned, Thorpe was a popular Australian swimmer who endured a cloud of suspicion. Certainly he would have made an interesting case study, but choosing an actual athlete would have increased the variables surrounding the study, namely fan identification. Using a well-known celebrity required measuring for variation of subjects' knowledge and attitude toward the athlete. Instead, having a fictitious endorser allowed for more experimental control in terms of audience bias to a well-known celebrity or familiar

individual. Usage of an unknown athlete contributed to ensuring participants' attitudes were based on the information provided to them on the day of the study as there would be no previous exposure to the athletes prior to the experiment.

By presenting fictional athletes to the participants, attitudes formed about the athletes were constructed strictly based on information presented to them by the researcher. As each athlete is fictitious, the opportunity of previously established attitudes was eliminated, unless the participants believe they recognise the alleged athletes. According to Sherif and Cantril (1947), the first stage of forming an attitude involves first coming into contact with the object. Therefore, by supplying the player profile and exposing participants to the athlete, the first stage of attitude formation within the study's environment was triggered. For the cloud of suspicion treatment groups, the attitude formation process was furthered by providing supplementary information.

### CLOUD OF SUSPICION

In addition to the profile, the treatment groups were provided with a modified news article accusing either the white (see Appendix C) or black (see Appendix D) athlete of steroid use in order to operationalise cloud of suspicion. This article was identical for both treatment groups except for the images of the athletes which were the same photographs depicted in the player profiles. Importantly, the cloud of suspicion stimulus was administered following the player profile. As Brown (1986) noted, the order in which information is delivered to the participants can affect their responses. Therefore, the profile was administered prior to the cloud of suspicion stimulus for authenticity reasons, as it is likely for an audience to be exposed to an athlete with sports hero status in regards to his or her athletic achievement before hearing of steroid accusations.

This presentation of the newspaper article, along with the player profile, allowed for artificial control over the participants' perception in relation to the effects of mass media. In research dealing with mass media, there is a focus on information being disseminated by a sender to a large number of communication recipients (Berger, 2000). However, it is not guaranteed that all recipients will interpret the information similarly. As explained by Sherif and Cantril (1947), participants are not unbiased, nor do they always register the exact stimulus intended in the experiment. Therefore, the degree of participants' perceptions of the athlete's guilt or innocence may vary depending on levels of consciousness to the steroid allegations given that individuals notice different cues in their environments. Similarly, Bartlett (1932) noted that attitudes and interests are two examples of factors that may affect a person's ability to remember certain stimuli. For example, a participant may not react strongly to the cloud of suspicion if he or she has a low level of sports interest because there was a lack of cognitive processing. That being said, it would have been impossible to choose a media stimulus that affected all participants to the same degree.

The presentation of steroid allegations posed a challenge given the high number possible sources of even simply traditional media exposure, not taking into consideration digital media resources, that consumers view. A single newspaper article was the chosen medium but in the online format to blend traditional and digital media. This choice proved viable after the Ian Thorpe steroid allegations escalated (Blass, 2007, March 31; Report: Thorpe tested positive in '06," 2007, March 30) after the publishing of a single newspaper article in the French newspaper *L'Equipe*, prompting other media sources to report on the accusations. Similarly, Denham (2004) identified a 2002 *Sports Illustrated* exposé on steroid use in baseball as the media declaration that changed fans' perceptions of baseball's fairness because of the magazine's prominence and circulation. Therefore, it is reasonable that the stimulus newspaper article was based on an actual article published in *USA Today* in which a



US Olympic track athlete is under allegations of steroid use during the Sydney Olympic Games in 2000. The names have been altered, including the journalist's name, and the competition in question has been changed to the Athens Olympic Games in 2004 to utilise primacy (as the study was conducted prior to the 2008 Beijing Olympics) and generate more interest among the participants. In both the actual article and the modified article, the athlete maintains a stance of innocence while the investigations continue. Whether or not the athlete is using steroids was the variable measured for a cloud of suspicion.

#### PUBLIC IMAGE AND ENDORSEMENT VALUE

All groups were supplied with a cross-sectional survey involving a forty-six item questionnaire (see Appendix E) in mixed format. The benefit of using a mixed format survey is that it allows for flexibility in that question format can vary depending on the level of details desired for responses (Sarantakos, 2005). One method employed was the use of scales, which allow for empirical measures of inferred attitudes through a series of items (McIver & Carmines, 1981). While there are three purposes of using scales (to confirm, to explore, and to numerically compare), not every purpose needs to be made use of in order for scaling to be effective (McIver & Carmines, 1981). Instead, McIver and Carmines (1981) claimed that one model may be better suited to a particular design. However, all three purposes were justified in the development of the questionnaire when taking into consideration both hypotheses and research questions were explored for statistical comparisons across groups. Keeping that in mind, the questionnaire items were designed to measure participants' attitudes.

Likert-scaling embraces the general concept of measuring attitudes, but approaches the items as being reflective of the individual respondent (McIver & Carmines, 1981) and with a clear relationship to the statistical comparison purpose of scaling. In other words, Likert involves summative calculations of responses on a single topic as indicated by

participants' levels of agreement based on a five point numeric system. Therefore, because the first thirty-nine items required a low intimacy level in responses, items were formatted in Likert-scale questions in which participants were asked to read each statement and circle one number per question to indicate either their level of either agreement (five being the highest) or disagreement (one being the lowest). Bishop (1990) identified that participants who were less involved with an issue are more likely to select the middle, neutral response to survey questions. It is predicted that control groups will answer more neutrally than treatment groups according to mean scores because of the established public opposition to steroid use and treatment groups will be given the cloud of suspicion stimulus. Therefore, the stimulus expectedly accesses participants' attitudes regarding steroid opposition to produce a more opinionated response. As there was no right or wrong answer, participants were instructed to answer based on their immediate reactions to the questions rather than analysing them too deeply, in order to obtain genuine participant reactions.

Providing initial reaction responses ensures the validity and reliability of Likert-scale questions are popularly used to infer attitudes (Sarantakos, 2005). Ajzen (1988) explained that "an attitude is a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution or event" (p. 5). Applicably, the questionnaire used scales to measure the participants' affective responses, or feelings, about the athlete's public image, perceived endorsement value, and ability to represent Nike. Because attitudes are "inaccessible to direct observation" (Ajzen, 1988, p. 4), participant attitudes were statistically inferred based on their responses to the questionnaire once assessed in numeric format.

Applying the scaling measurement method to the instrument development process allowed for increased capabilities when calculating inferential statistics. When inferential statistics are computed, conclusions are then able to be drawn about the sample population based on scale means (Heiman, 2004). The statistical analysis provides the initial numerical

conclusion which can then lead to an interpretation of the relationships being measured based on behaviour and potential social influences (Heiman, 2004). The purpose of the questionnaire was to establish the means of complementary traits in regards to particular concepts for comparison across experimental groups, capturing the primary objective of a Likert-scale to combine related items (McIver & Carmines, 1981). Accordingly, public image and perceived endorsement value were measured through inter-related traits respective to each concept.

Of the Likert-scale questions, twenty-eight measured participants' attitudes towards the athlete. Participants were asked to respond to seven questions related to the appropriateness and ability of the athlete to represent a high-profile name brand, thereby operationalising perceived endorsement value. Replicating the person perception process in which individuals make spontaneous trait inferences (Newman & Uleman, 1989), participants were presented with seven items which described endorsement value based on traits fitting that category. These traits, assigned based on previous literature (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005; Dean & Biswas, 2001; Dyson & Turco, 1998; Friedman et al., 1978; Miciak & Shanklin, 1994; Stevens et al., 2003; Till, 2001; Till & Busler, 2000; Till & Shimp, 1998), included credibility, trustworthiness, persuasiveness, appropriateness, entitlement, brand fit, and positive representation. Table 1 depicts the seven questionnaire items regarding perceived endorsement value to which participants indicated their levels of agreement.

Table 1

*Participants were Asked to Indicate their Levels of Agreement on a Scale of 1 to 5 (with 1 being the Lowest and 5 being the Highest) to Seven Questionnaire Items Measuring the Athletes' Perceived Endorsement Values*

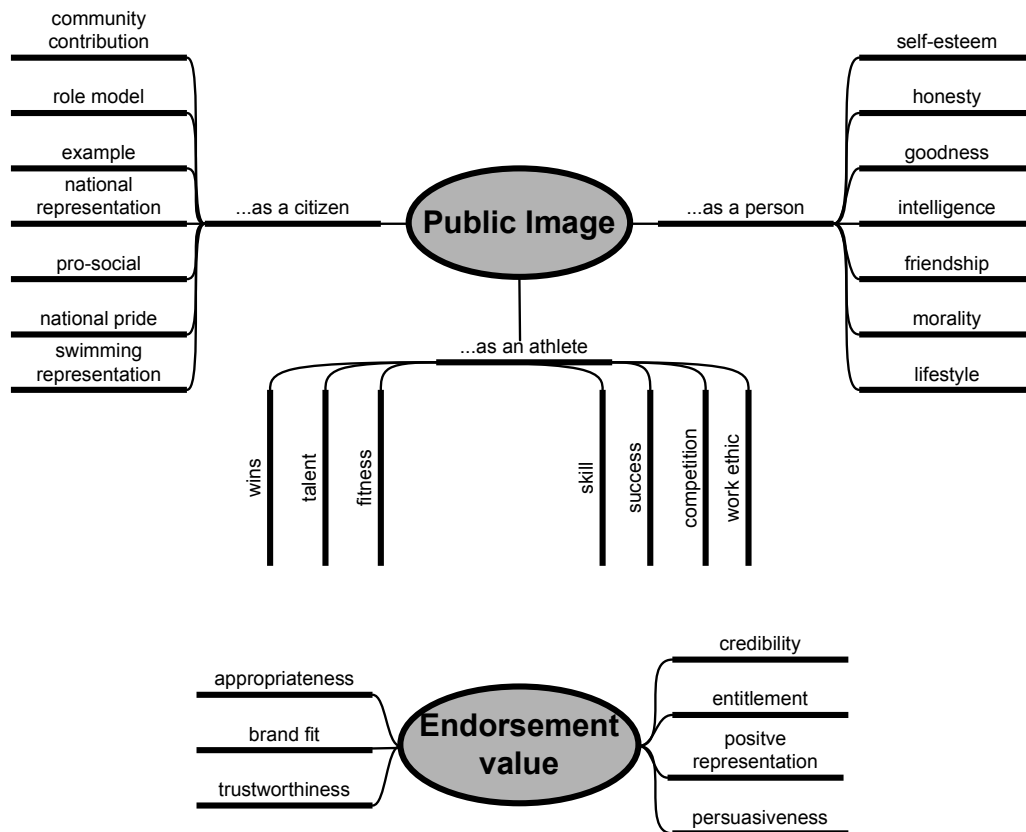
<u>Questionnaire items for endorsement value</u>	<u>Level of agreement</u>
This athlete is an appropriate endorser for Nike.	1....2....3....4....5
I trust this athlete.	1....2....3....4....5
The athlete's values are a good match for a Nike endorser.	1....2....3....4....5
This athlete would be a credible endorser.	1....2....3....4....5
This athlete has earned the right to be a Nike endorser.	1....2....3....4....5
This athlete positively represents the Nike brand.	1....2....3....4....5
The athlete makes me want to purchase Nike products.	1....2....3....4....5

Additionally, twenty-one of the questions targeted the athlete's public image. Within public image were three specific categories: (1) public image as an athlete, (2) public image as a person, and (3) public image as a citizen. Again, previous literature (Atkin & Block, 1983; Brown et al., 2003; Friedman, et al., 1978; Goodman et al., 2002; Lines, 2001; National Council, 2001; Shuart, 2007; Stevens et al., 2003; Till, 2001; Till & Busler, 2000; Van Hoecke et al., 2000) provided the traits associated with the three categories of public image, with each category having its own associated traits. Figure 23 denotes the traits associated with endorsement value and the three elements of public image. These sections served to operationalise public image, as participants were asked to indicate their levels of agreement or disagreement to statements regarding these three categories. The complete

survey instrument operationalising public image and endorsement value is located at Appendix E. In total, each sub-group within public image had seven significant trait-related questions of measurement used to infer attitudes as determined through a test of reliability.

Figure 23

*Concepts Were Broken Down into Seven Representative Traits Based on the Process of Person Perception Contributing to Consumers Developing Multi-Dimensional Perceptions of an Athlete's Public Image and Perceived Endorsement Value*

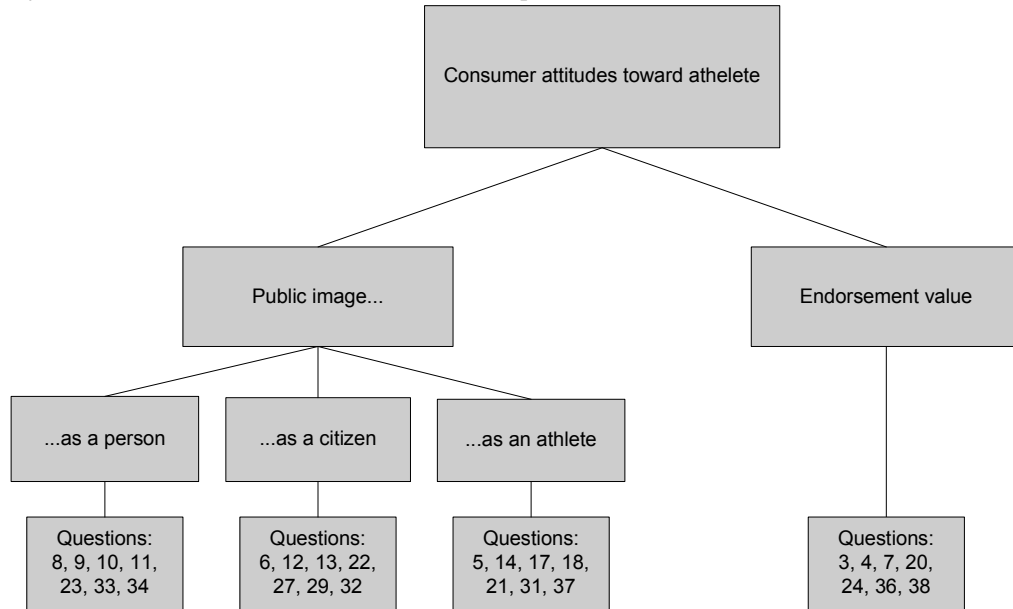


The necessity of asking participants about the same topic but with differently worded questions around various traits is that the presentation of the question can alter responses (Wilson, 1992), hence, the repetition of the same question-asking in surveys. Moreover, McIver and Carmines (1981) ascertain that combining numerical scores of unrelated items is not only illogical as a total sum, but can actually decrease the validity and reliability of a

Likert-scale instrument. Instead, asking the same question but in a different manner tests the reliability of the participants' attitudes, as well as the reliability of the instrument (Babbie, 2007), indicating the replication potential of the experiment. In this instance, the form of reliability in focus was equivalence reliability which relates to operationalisation procedures (Sarantakos, 2005). Particularly, if the traits associated with concepts were not suitable, the reliability of the instrument would be compromised. Therefore, as attitudes must be inferred, repeated responses to a particular object are required (Sherif & Cantril, 1947). For those reasons, the instrument was designed to measure participants' attitudes based on a pattern of responses to public image and endorsement value. Furthermore, in order to increase reliability, multi-item measures were used (Ajzen, 1988) for each of the three public image categories as well as for perceived endorsement value, hence the necessity for multiple traits. Figure 24 demonstrates the breakdown of public image and the randomisation of questions.

Figure 24

*Survey Questions Represented Public Image and Endorsement Value Characteristics that Influence Consumer Attitudes Towards a Sports Hero Endorser*



Note: Adapted from Sarantakos (2005, p. 243).

Although a *t*-test evaluates internal validity by evaluating and comparing subgroup means for variances (McIver & Carmines, 1981), given the Solomon four group design of the experiment, a factorial AVOVA was more appropriate to calculate interaction and main effects of independent variables on dependent variable (Keppel & Wickens, 2004). In advance, reliability of the scales was conducted using Cronbach's alpha. Accordingly, SPSS functions were utilised to calculate reliability scores for traits intended to measure endorsement value, public image as an athlete, public image as a person, and public image as a citizen. A factor analysis checks and aligns the similarity of scales according to data responses (Keppel & Wickens, 2004). Simply put, a factor analysis considers the multidimensional scaling used in regards to the concepts' traits to assess how similar participants' view different characteristics (Kinnear & Gray, 2008). Ideally, traits related to a particular concept would be viewed as similar, for example, all seven traits used to measure

endorsement value should be coinciding. Developing an instrument with significant reliability according to Cronbach's alpha advances the aim of attaining true scores from the participants.

While obtaining true scores is the primary aim of quantitative researchers to achieve ultimate reliability, Carmines and Zeller (1979) described the impossibility of the feat. They expressed a true score as "the average score that would be obtained if the person were remeasured an infinite number of times on that variable" (p. 29). This becomes a hypothetical when taking into account the dynamic nature of individuals with the potential influence of external and internal factors on participants' attitudes (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Wilson, 1992). Furthermore, Carmines and Zeller (1979) explained the influence of "random disturbances" (p. 30) as being able to positively or negatively affect individuals' outlooks, not surprising given the multidimensional scaling model. When taking this approach, the possibility of there being numerous motivators in influencing participants' responses is welcomed (McIver & Carmines, 1981). For example, stereotypical racial or athletic beliefs could be factor in the degree to which participants agree or disagree on the Likert-scale. Alternatively, participants' interests in sport also have the potential to be influential. Both of the above examples were taken into consideration and assessed through statistical analysis. However, external and internal factors are sought to be stabilised through repetition of questions to enhance reliability (Wilson, 1992) and identify inconsistent responses.

Additional steps were taken in order to present the experiment as realistic and believable. Nike represented the brand for which the athlete was a potential endorser rather than constructing a fictional brand. By having the experiment based on a fictitious athlete, also including another fictitious element in the brand may have threatened the authenticity of the study. Therefore, the use of a well-known brand name, such as Nike, added authenticity to the study, but also presented the possibility of participant bias toward the brand.



Participants were less likely to assume that elements of the study were contrived if it appeared as though this were actually an advertising campaign that Nike were interesting in running with the newest athlete endorser. As a result, the use of Nike validated the purpose of the study.

To account for using the Nike brand, two questions were included to measure the participants' feelings towards Nike in order to investigate whether identification with or dislike of the brand influenced the evaluation of the athlete. Questions regarding the participants' attitudes towards Nike and the frequency in which they bought Nike products were included in the questionnaire. Providing participants with these questions allowed responses to be monitored to ensure participant bias was not hindering genuine answers.

Biased participant responses can occur when questions might be controversial and participants' seek to maintain social desirability, or responding to questions in order to maintain a positive appearance (Babbie, 2007), a common issue in research studying attitudes (Lanski & Leggett, 1960). The attempt by participants to portray themselves as positively as possible is known as socially desirable responding (SDR) (Paulhus, 1991). Fortunately, a number of procedures can be taken in order to control SDR. Paulhus (1991) acknowledges that the most obvious approach is simple to ensure anonymity. Therefore, in order to decrease the effects of SDR and increase sincerity of participants' responses, participant confidentiality and anonymity were ensured. According to Cohen et al. (2007), participants can be satisfied that anonymity will be maintained if the instrument does not require a name, but instead uses codes for identification. Concurring, Paulhus (1991) suggests incorporating participants' birthdays rather than names as a method of developing unique individual codes for each participant. Participants' codes were comprised on their mothers' initials, their mothers' birth months and their own birth days. Therefore, with a guarantee of anonymity, participants could not be linked to the data (Sarantakos, 2005).

Additionally, in order to mask the genuine purpose of the study and prevent the participants from providing answers they thought the researchers wanted, the statements were randomly arranged and foil questions were also included. However, even with the addition of foil questions, there was potential for participants to unveil the hidden purpose of the study. Therefore, a question was included at the end of the Likert-scale items in which the participants were asked if they recognised the respective athlete on the profile. A signal of recognition of the athlete suggested two things: (1) it is assumed that the participant was aware of the underlying purpose of the study, or (2) the participant thought the athlete was actually someone other than who he really was. This recognition question was necessary to measure as it was the variable for the concept of endorsement value.

Even with the foil questions and hidden purpose, admittedly, there were three questions included on the survey which had the potential to sway participants' from answering truthfully, perhaps due to the attempt to maintain perceived social desirability. Admittedly, a limitation of questionnaires is that they dependent on participant willingness, along with truthfulness of responses (Bertrand & Hughes, 2005). For those reasons, Bertrand and Hughes (2005) argued that questionnaires are intrinsically unreliable, indicating that all methods possible need to be employed in an effort to increase reliability. Indeed, if the participant does not feel assured that responses to sensitive topics will remain confidential, his or her answers may not be genuine (Kimmel, 1988, as cited in Cohen et al., 2007). For that reason, participants may not have truthfully answered questions 41 through 43 as the issue of drug use was broached. Requesting information about a participant's drug use habits and frequency could be deemed as a sensitive topic, however, was necessary to draw conclusions about the strength of participants' inferred attitude towards an alleged steroid user.

Before the surveys were even administered to participants, a fundamental final step to ensure validity was taken. According to Neuman (2006) face validity is the easiest way to achieve the most basic form of validity as it simply refers to whether an instrument appears to be measuring its intent. To execute an assessment on face validity, a pilot test study was conducted with all three of the instruments having been evaluated by others. Face validity was established by conducting the pilot test with suggestions being made regarding vagueness of terms and questions. The pilot test participants were from different cultural backgrounds to ensure that all written information and questions could be understood on a multi-cultural basis. To the extent possible, construct validity was determined using convergent and divergent analysis.

The next phase of Study 1 was developed to support the purpose of explanatory causal research. This form of research uses descriptive statistics to answer questions and identify correlations, or relationships between two or more variables (Babbie, 2007). More importantly, correlations are significant in that they measure the strength, direction, and the presence or absence of variable relationships (Sarantakos, 2005), enabling causal relationships to be further identified. The purpose was to investigate potential correlations of participants' inferred attitudes for both cloud of suspicion and no cloud of suspicion athletes with expressed beliefs by measuring participants' latitudes of their attitudes and interest levels in sport. This was efficiently accomplished with computer assistance.

An online survey invitation link was emailed to the participants who completed the questionnaire in the classroom setting. By using computer assisted surveying, communication took place strictly between the participant and the computer (Sarantakos, 2005), further eliminating power dependency. While the researcher was not present to encourage participation, new media can be motivating in itself by allowing users to communicate at their convenience, thereby improving motivation to participate online and express their

opinions (McQuail, 2005). In order to be eligible to partake in the online survey participants had to fully complete the paper survey. Luckily, utilising computer assistance enables the researcher to administer the survey to a larger sample in a cost efficient and timely manner (Sarantakos, 2005). This was a necessity given that the potential sample for this phase of the study was  $n=259$  students. The online survey was created using a guiding template as constructed through and administered by Survey Monkey<sup>1</sup> (see Appendix F). Of the two hundred and fifty-nine participants who completed the classroom question, one hundred and eighty-three also completed the online follow-up survey. Four email reminders were sent to the participants to encourage full participation by completing the online survey; however, in order to maintain sincere responses without researcher inflicted pressure, participants were not forced to partake in the follow-up survey. Importantly, although their email addresses were supplied, anonymity of survey responses was maintained, only linking online responses to survey responses through unique user codes. In order for unique user codes to be allocated, a participant had to supply his or her mother's maiden name initials, the mother's birth month, and his or her own birth day. These details were the final questions asked and were required on both the classroom survey and the online survey, allowing the researcher to match users' paper survey responses to their online survey responses.

While the self-administered questionnaire was intended for comparison of inferred attitudes with a hidden purpose, the online survey was more upfront with the questioning, intending to measure the latitude of each participant's attitude in regards to steroid use generally. Attitudes were presented to the participants in the form of nine statements representing varying degrees of outlooks on acceptable steroid use from one extreme of the spectrum to the other based an example used by Sherif and Hovland (1961). In their example,

---

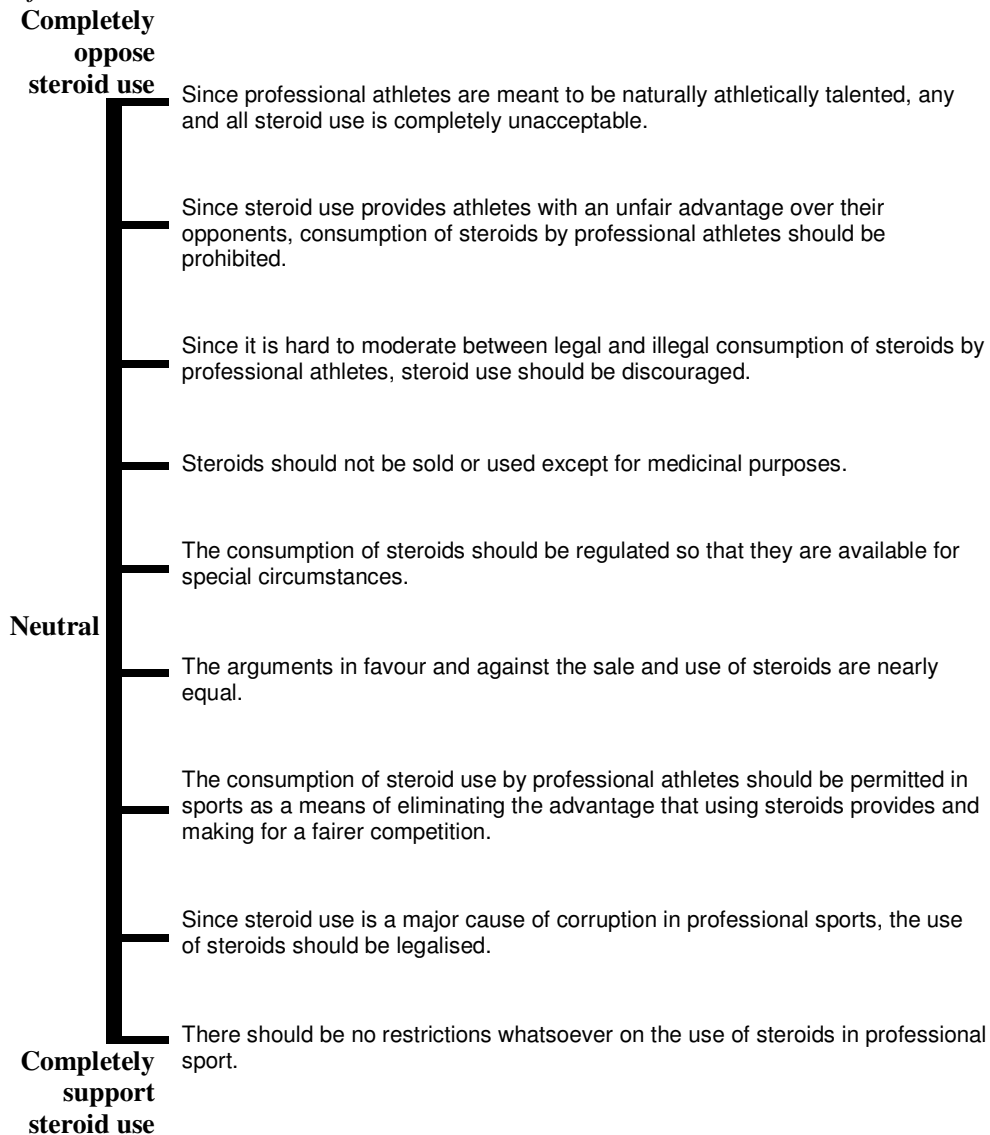
<sup>1</sup>

[http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?PREVIEW\\_MODE=DO\\_NOT\\_USE\\_THIS\\_LINK\\_FOR\\_COLLECTION&sm=KV8ozstrmwuhM7jJDVqKF9ft2dkD3rkSojgR6vVIqPE%3d](http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?PREVIEW_MODE=DO_NOT_USE_THIS_LINK_FOR_COLLECTION&sm=KV8ozstrmwuhM7jJDVqKF9ft2dkD3rkSojgR6vVIqPE%3d)

they measured attitudes towards the issue of prohibition laws in the US. Statements were adapted to fit the needs of the issue at hand, with the first statement anchoring the most extreme attitude against steroid use and the last statement anchoring the most extreme attitude in favour of steroid use. Figure 25 demonstrates the varying statements on steroid use against which the participants were asked to indicate strong agreement, neutrality, or strong opposition. It was important to have a range of statements, each representing a different position on the spectrum to determine the widths of each participant's latitude of acceptance and rejection. Unavoidably, while the statements covered the broad range of attitudes they were not assumed to be equidistant on the spectrum (Sherif & Hovland, 1961) given that individuals each have varying widths of latitudes depending on ego involvement.

Figure 25

*Statements Representing a Range of Positions on the Spectrum from Complete Opposition to Complete Support of Steroid Use were Used to Measure Participants' Widths of Acceptance, Rejection and Noncommitment*



Latitudes of acceptance, rejection and noncommitment are not constrained to simply one position along the spectrum regarding a particular issue. According to Sherif, Sherif and Nerbergall (1965), supplying participants with “at least two alternatives in the set of positions” (p. 24) was a necessity in order for the latitude width to be measured properly. By forcing the participants to identify levels of agreements or disagreement, they were essentially being forced to have and express their opinions. The benefit of the varying levels of attitude expression is that it “gave the subject[s] an opportunity to take a stand or not to stand” (Sherif & Hovland, 1961, p. 134), allowing the participants to accurately express the entire range of their stances.

While latitude widths vary depending on individuals, they can also vary based on ego involvement in the issue. The more interested and passionate the person to the topic, the larger the width of rejection and the closer the width of noncommitment to zero (Sherif et al., 1965). With the nine statements of varying stances of steroid use, an example of a vested personal interest against steroid use in sport is demonstrated in Figure 26. The latitude of acceptance has the largest width, indicating the participants’ enthusiastically opposed steroid use given that their range of opposition extends to the end of the spectrum. Latitude of rejection has the next largest width, followed by the latitude of noncommitment. While individuals with a high ego involvement tend to evaluate different positions or stances in regards to a topic as either acceptable or unacceptable (Sherif et al., 1965), a spectrum should represent a degree of neutrality as entire population will not be entirely comprised of extreme attitude on an issue. Therefore, while participants are extreme in opposing steroid use, there is a statement that represents a neutral stance in their beliefs of its use.

Figure 26

*Participants Indicated their Largest Combined Latitude Width was the Latitude of Acceptance for Completely Rejecting Steroid Use, Followed by the Latitude of Rejection and Noncommitment*

		Completely agree	Neutral	Completely disagree
<b>Completely oppose steroid use</b>	Since professional athletes are meant to be naturally athletically talented, any and all steroid use is completely unacceptable.	<b>X</b>		
	Since steroid use provides athletes with an unfair advantage over their opponents, consumption of steroids by professional athletes should be prohibited.	<b>X</b>		
	Since it is hard to moderate between legal and illegal consumption of steroids by professional athletes, steroid use should be discouraged.	<b>X</b>		
	Steroids should not be sold or used except for medicinal purposes.	<b>X</b>		
	The consumption of steroids should be regulated so that they are available for special circumstances.	<b>X</b>		
<b>Neutral</b>	The arguments in favour and against the sale and use of steroids are nearly equal.		<b>X</b>	
	The consumption of steroid use by professional athletes should be permitted in sports as a means of eliminating the advantage that using steroids provides and making for a fairer competition.			<b>X</b>
	Since steroid use is a major cause of corruption in professional sports, the use of steroids should be legalised.			<b>X</b>
	There should be no restrictions whatsoever on the use of steroids in professional sport.			<b>X</b>
<b>Completely support steroid use</b>				



After participants specified their latitudes of acceptance, rejection and noncommitment, a number of questions followed with the intention of measuring ego involvement. For example, participants were required to indicate their history of steroid use with explanation as that could affect where their latitudes of acceptance lie. Additionally, they also had to indicate their level of interest in sport. Having these two questions furthered the operationalisation of Social Judgment Theory by integrating a measurement for ego involvement.

The influence of ego involvement is not reserved exclusively for Social Judgment Theory. As explained by Bartlett (1932), perceiving is one of the most fundamental functions of cognitive processing, yet becomes increasingly more complex when beliefs and values, or ego involvement, are integrated. Therefore, when operationalising person perception, participants' freedom of expression needed to be considered, keeping in mind that social norms are established at home and through media perpetuation (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994). As a result, in order to measure perception, participants were asked questions that would have been influenced by media exposure, either traditionally or via new media. For instance, one item of the survey asked participants to assess how effective the IOC has been in preventing, monitoring and punishing steroid use among athletes. As well, participants were asked to indicate and explain if they believed certain countries had a higher degree of problems with steroid use among their professional sports than others. Clearly, with both of the previously mentioned questions, media portrayal could significantly influence the participants' views of the severity of steroid use in professional and Olympic sport.

Based on the unique codes provided by the participants, self-administered survey responses and online survey responses were matched and combined for statistical processing.

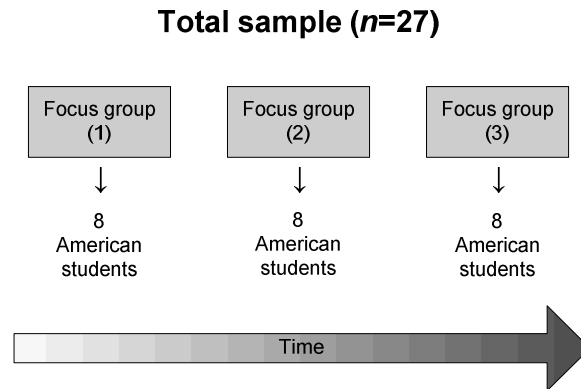
*Study 2*

A mixed format methodology was utilised in order to gain a more comprehensive view of social life. While employing a mixed method includes accepting the weaknesses of both the quantitative and the qualitative research methods, more importantly, it involves utilising each paradigm's strengths (DeCuir-Gunby, 2008). For example, McNeill and Chapman (2005) revealed that qualitative data can offer *why* and *how* answers to the research questions and supply the researcher with valuable verbatim responses. Therefore, in order to complement the methodological approach used in Study 1, a total of twenty-seven ( $n=27$ ) US study abroad students from a private Australian university were recruited from orientation events and introductory Australian studies courses for voluntary participation in focus group discussions.

The number of groups with a study varies depending on the purpose of the study (Sarantakos, 2005). As these focus groups were meant to complement the earlier completed quantitative method, a small number of groups was desired; however, conducting only one focus group is insufficient to allow for comparison of emergent themes (Cohen et al., 2007). Therefore, participants were broken into three comparable groups comprised of nine participants each (see Figure 27). Procedural measures and presentation of materials were identical for all groups. The dynamic of each group was significant to facilitate the best possible discussion in an effort to blend methodological format while enhancing overall consumer attitudes and behaviour.

Figure 27

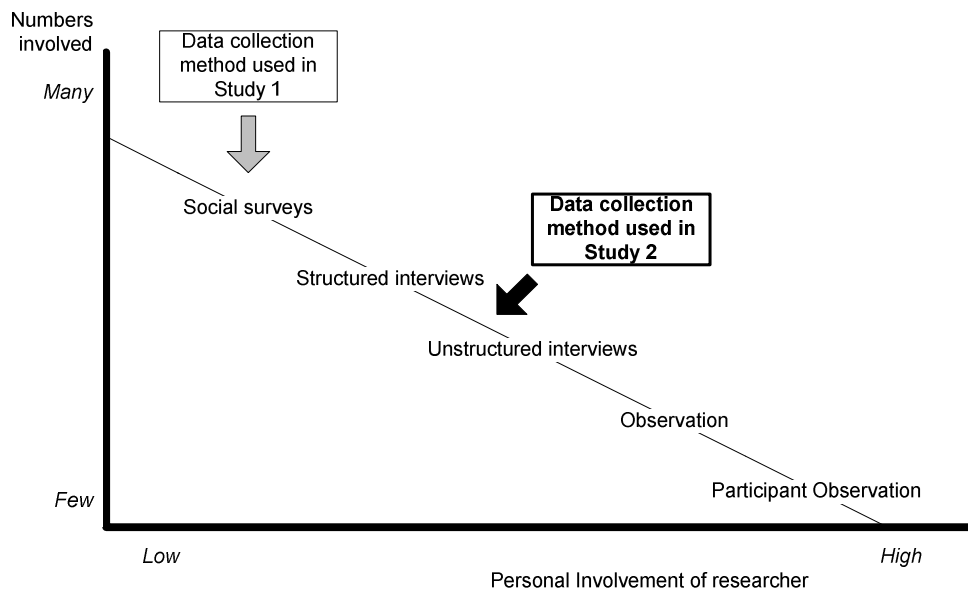
*The 27 US Study Abroad Students Comprising the Sample Were Individually Allocated to One of the Three Focus Groups to Best Enhance Group Dynamic and Conversation*



Traditionally, oral dictation has been a communicative method used to understand and interpret feelings and knowledge (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Essentially, qualitative data is a conversational interaction between the participant and the researcher (Babbie, 2007). One form of qualitative research is an interview, which, when conducted with a group is a focus group. This collaborative form of interviewing signifies equal value of importance among all participants (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Therefore, a focus group study, or group interviewing (Babbie, 2007), was conducted in September 2008 in order to gain a better understanding of audience attitudes and behaviours (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000) regarding a sports hero under a cloud of suspicion. This pairing of quantitative research with focus groups is common among researchers (Neuman, 2006) as it allows for a lower sample size while increasing researcher involvement (McNeill & Chapman, 2005). Figure 28 demonstrates the progress of Study 2 towards fewer participants but increased researcher connection through conversation with focus group participants.

Figure 28

*The Focus Group Facilitator Needs to be Flexible to Allow for Discussion While Maintaining Adequate Structure to Avoid Individual Participant Domination*



Note: Adapted from Worsley (1977) as cited in McNeill and Chapman (2005, p. 23).

The placement of Study 2 lies between structured and unstructured interviews in approach as it embraced both structured and unstructured methodological qualities (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990) of being guiding yet with dynamic interaction (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The benefit of conducting focus groups was that it allowed for audience discussion of real allegations against a real athlete, with specific conversation centred around the phenomenon of media influence on sports heroes' public images and endorsement values. As explained by McNeill and Chapman (2005), "Focus groups not only measure the extent of an opinion; they can investigate the reasons why it was formed" (p. 65). Consequently, the study allowed for a more in-depth and qualitative analysis of audience attitude formation (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000).

Admittedly, the conceptualisation and operationalisation processes differ between qualitative and quantitative data in terms of structure and definite constructs (Neuman, 2006).

However, as a mixed method design was the template, the focus groups served as vessels through which the quantitative conceptualised and operationalised concepts could be discussed. Therefore, while survey participants responded anonymously and nonverbally to operationalised questions concerning public image and endorsement value (see Appendix G), focus group participants were presented with the same concepts, but communicated to them verbally. In other words, focus groups are presented with the interpretation of the quantitative instrument's results (Neuman, 2006). However, linkages based on themes presented throughout the group discussion became associated with the concepts after the group discussions among the participants were analysed. Discussion can potentially be moulded based on the number of members within each group. Literature varies when suggesting an appropriate size of a group to facilitate discussion. Generally, numbers between six and twelve are considered suitable (Babbie, 2007; Cohen et al., 2007; Neuman, 2006; Sarantakos, 2005; Wimmer & Dominick, 2000) in order to maintain both flexibility for expression and control for equal contribution to the discussion.

Focus groups allow observation of how talking about an issue with others can influence one's attitudes. For example, Lindlof and Taylor (2002) proposed that a group discussion setting can stimulate ideas in participants that would not have occurred otherwise when complementary interaction is achieved. Consequently, based on Sherif's experiments as cited by Ross and Nisbett (1991), individuals provide a similar answer or reaction to conform to the rest of the group, forming an overall group norm. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2000), this is a common drawback of focus groups. However, this can be compensated by the potential of the group setting to stimulate thinking, leading participants to reveal information they may not have considered individually (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000). This aspect of group interaction and opinion formation was noted for each group so as to compare the group opinion-making process among the three groups. As public opinions are generated

based on societal norms (Ross & Nisbett, 1991), the groups also discussed the media's role in helping viewers form opinions about athletes under a cloud of suspicion and athletes engaging in steroid use in general.

In order for participants to feel comfortable contributing to the discussion, they were chosen purposively so as to ensure media exposure to the topic. Steroid allegations against athletes are plentiful among the US professional and Olympic sports, particularly given that the country's high population places it as the world's third most populated country (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008b). Therefore, US study abroad students were targeted as participants with the assumption that they had been exposed to some degree of media exposure regarding steroid allegation, indicating that they would be familiar with the controversies. As in Study 1, an opportunistic purposive sample was utilised by selecting students from a private Australian university. However, unlike Study 1, these participants are not statistically representative of the university's undergraduate population because of the narrow criteria (Babbie, 2007). In total a sample of twenty-seven students ( $n=27$ ) were selected, but divided into three separate groups of nine individuals specifically arranged to enhance group dynamic and allow for participant discussion to flourish.

The dynamic of each group was significant to facilitate the best possible discussion. For example, focus group discussion is more successful when participants are surrounded by their friends because it allows for more genuine responses (Cohen et al., 2007) and eliminates the potential influence of providing answers that adhere to social desirability. Division of groups was administered based on key information provided by the participants, including the name of their home university, location of residence in Australia, program of study, gender and age. Participants originated from the same university in the US were evenly divided to try to eliminate friendships. Additionally, location of residence in Australia was important as the majority of study abroad students tend to live in on-campus student accommodation and form

friendship with their fellow residents. Therefore, participants were also allocated groups based on location to ensure equal representation from student residence sites. Consequently, a blend of participants was selected to ensure a balance of gender, age, residential location, and other general demographics. Once group allocations had been determined, CMC in the form of email was utilised because of its convenience and user popularity (Flew, 2005) to inform participants of the time and place of their group discussion.

Physical setting contributes to establishing a comfortable environment conducive for discussion to foster. According to Neuman (2006), a “natural setting allows people to express opinions/ideas freely” (p. 412). As a result, because the participants would be comfortable in a classroom setting and for convenience of the participants, the ninety minute focus group sessions were conducted on the campus of the private Australian university from which participants were recruited in order to maintain ecological validity. Babbie (2007) defined ecological as a group larger than just the individual. Accordingly, ecological validity involves setting an experiment within the natural setting of the sample group (Sarantakos, 2005); hence, the focus groups were held in university classrooms. Two athletes (one black and one white) who are categorised as sports heroes participating in sport in the US and currently under steroid allegations were presented to the participants for discussion, thereby operationalising sports hero through group conversation.

*Sport heroes under clouds of suspicion.*

While there are athletes under individual clouds of suspicion across a variety of sporting entities, MLB was significantly targeted by the publication of the Mitchell Report in December 2007. On December 14, 2007, a report was released detailing the work of a US\$20 million investigation conducted by former Senator George J. Mitchell into the use of anabolic steroids in professional baseball (Wilson & Schmidt, 2007, December 14). Within the report,

Mitchell named eight-nine past and/or present players linked to steroid use during their careers. Two of those players, Rogers Clemens and Miguel Tejada, maintain their innocence, serving as prime examples of sports heroes for discussion in the focus groups. While they vary in age and length of career, they are justified in comparison within the focus groups because their clouds of suspicion originated from the same source. Therefore, discussing Clemens, a white player, and Tejada, a black player, validly mirrors the situation presented in Study 1.

### ROGER CLEMENS

Prior to the allegations, Roger Clemens had certainly secured himself as a sports hero. Fans elected him as an All-Star player seven times (MLB Advanced Media, 2001-2009a), demonstrating identification that fans developed towards him. Additionally, he was named the Cy Young winner six times (Baseball Almanac, 2000-2008), with the award being representative of the best pitcher in the MLB. While those athletic accomplishments qualify him as an elite athlete, his charitable commitments to cancer researcher and homeless projects (MLB Advanced Media, 2001-2008) elevated him to sports hero status. However, even with this status his public image could be detrimentally damaged as a result of the Mitchell Report's allegations. Perhaps sensing the potential negative repercussions, Clemens has vehemently denied steroid use, even going as far as to conduct a television interview with *60 Minutes*, an award-winning investigative news program (CBS Interactive, n.d.), to argue his innocence (Schwarz & Schmidt, 2008, January 4). Figure 29 documents the interview.



Figure 29

*The 60 Minutes Interview Depicted Clemens Denying the Steroid Allegations Previously Recorded Video Clips of Exercising with the Trainer who Made the Allegations Against Him*



(YouTube, 2008f)

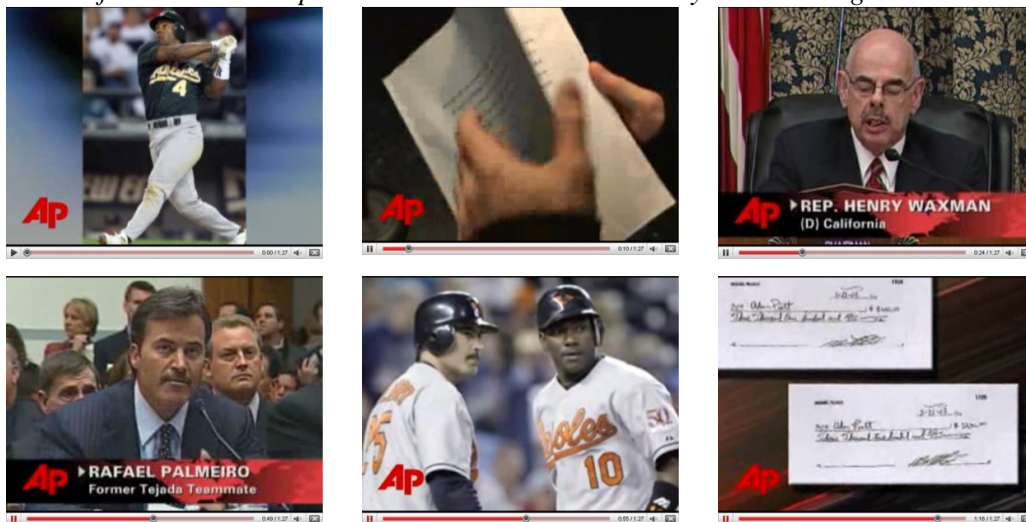
#### MIGUEL TEJADA

Just as fans identified with Clemens, they have with Miguel Tejada, as well. Four times he has been elected to participate in the All-Star game, even earning the title of MVP in the 2005 All-Star Game (Associated Press, 2007, December 13). This athletic prowess is further demonstrated by Tejada having been awarded the overall MVP for his league in the 2002 season (Associated Press, 2007, December 13). But unlike Clemens, Tejada did not earn sports hero status through his philanthropist efforts. Instead, he became a fan-favourite by admitting to idolising his predecessor, Cal Ripken Jr., a sports hero widely known to possess sportsman-like qualities (Ginsburg, 2004, February 24). He furthered his fan-following by overcoming the adversity presented by his meagre Dominican Republic upbringing to succeed in the US baseball league (Dawidoff, 1999, May 30). While his story has been one in which fans have embraced, the steroid allegations could have an ill effect. Rather than addressing the allegations, Tejada has instead refused to address the Mitchell Report accusations (Associated Press, 2008, February 20), an especially discrete approach compared

to Clemens' outspoken media involvement. However, Tejada's silent approach has not quelled the media speculation. For example, the televised news report depicted in Figure 30 discusses the steroid allegations against Tejada.

Figure 30

*An Associated Press News Report Described the Steroid Allegations Against Tejada as a Result of the Mitchell Report which was Commissioned by the US Congress*



(YouTube, 2008b)

*Group discussion.*

The sports heroes, Clemens and Tejada, were presented to each of the groups as the basis for which the discussion would surround. Presentation of the information was similar to the order used in Study 1 in that participants first became familiarised with the athletic and personal accomplishments that qualified the athletes as sports heroes, before being shown media coverage reporting on each sports heroes' cloud of suspicion using new media. With the technical capabilities of the room, the media shown was reflective of the new media that participants are privy to as Web 2.0 users. For example, it was assumed that participants were familiar with YouTube's interactive qualities given that it is the most popular video-sharing

web site online (YouTube, 2008a). As such, a six minute twenty-five second clip of Clemens' *60 Minutes* interview was played for the participants as made available on YouTube.

For Tejada, who has maintained a low media profile since the allegations and not granted any interviews, participants were shown a one minute twenty-seven second news video clip from the Associated Press in which Tejada's allegations and innocent stance are described. This video is also available through YouTube. As Lindlof and Taylor (2002) explained, it is common for the focus groups conducted as a part of media research to be presented with textual material (i.e. television programs) "to orient the members to the subject matter and provide a 'push-off' to the discussion" (p. 183). Therefore, to ensure participants are acquainted with the sports heroes and their innocent stances, both videos served to operationalise cloud of suspicion and spark group discussion.

Once the media exposure to the allegations had been fulfilled, the researcher assumed the role of discussion facilitator and probed the group members to talk about their feels of how the steroid allegations have affected the public image and endorsement value of both athletes. The challenge for the discussion facilitator was to generate and foster discussion by allowing participants to be talking at least 95% of the time (Babbie, 2007). Recording and facilitating discussion contributes to the demanding nature of focus groups (Sarantakos, 2005), therefore, a second researcher was employed to assistant in recording in an effort to ease strain and maintain a level of comfort for the participants.

According to Babbie (2007), taking accurate observation notes is a vital contribution to the digital recording because a researcher may notice something the recording equipment may not capture. Again, the technical capabilities of the environment proved beneficial by allowing video clips to be played after downloading the material from the Internet to a computer and were displayed via a projector onto the white screen while each group session was recorded from start to finish. This dual recording method of both audio and hand notes

provided a thorough means of documentation to note verbal and non-verbal communication. All participants consented to being recorded with the assumption that their names would not be linked to their comments. Instead, participants assumed number (1-9) as their identities during the discussions. This is important as establishing trust with the participants and preserving their well-being will improve willingness to contribute (Sarantakos, 2005). A familiar setting equipped with commonly used new media assisted in establishing a friendly environment that fostered trust.

In qualitative research, validity is often referred to as trustworthiness (DeCuir-Gunby, 2008), however, not solely in regards to participants' behaviour. Trustworthiness need also be applied on the part of the researcher in eliminating bias and avoid influencing participants' communicative contributions (Cohen et al., 2007). In this regard then, validity is considered "the trustworthiness of inferences drawn from data" (Eisenhart & Howe, 1992, p. 644). For example, asking leading questions that influence the response of the interviewee will lead to an altered analysis of the data. This becomes detrimental when considering when the goal of a social researcher is to provide "a fair, honest, and balanced account of social life" (Neuman, 2006, p. 196) as conveyed by the participants. However, as Cohen (2007) explained, it is common for the interviewer, or discussion facilitator, to subconsciously communicate biases simply through engaging in interpersonal communication.

Counteraction of researcher bias was established through consistency among the three focus groups. Therefore, adhering to identical presentation orders of media exposure and maintaining a structured vocabulary to launch discussion was upheld. While some degree of structure on the discussion facilitator's part did enhance the reliability of the data, Silverman (1985) acknowledged that the benefit of interviewee freedom of response lies in unique contributions from multiple viewpoints. Decidedly, participants in the focus groups were

allowed the freedom of expression as dictated by the group discussion, with the facilitating researcher only intervening to restore the discourse to the steroid topic at hand.

### *Incentives*

While a goal of the studies was to eliminate power dependency, there was a persuasive appeal to encourage students to partake by offering an incentive. Admittedly, there are drawbacks associated with offering reward for participation. However, as explained by Sarantakos (2005), the bigger the reward, the better the response rate. Similarly, Cohen et al. (2007) suggested that offering incentives is an effective method used to increase response rate, but need to be chosen with care so respondents receive the incentive as if it were a reward rather than a payment. According to Babbie (2007), participants need to be willing to divulge information. Incentives were simply used to improve the participants' willingness to disclose their beliefs and views; this was particularly necessary for the focus groups.

For Study 1, the time required for participation was minimal. Therefore, participants received a voucher for a free coffee at the local university café after completion of both the self-administered survey and the online survey, resulting in one hundred and eighty-three participants being eligible for the voucher. Participant response suggested that this was an appropriate incentive.

Appropriateness wanted to be maintained for Study 2, however, as focus groups are more intimate and demanding on the participants a greater incentive was warranted. As Lindlof and Taylor (2002) explained, monetary incentive can be beneficial in motivating a high level of cooperation among participants, particularly in focus groups. Consequently, a monetary incentive of fifty dollars was offered for in return for the effort in active discussion. Therefore, after the group discussions were completed each participant received a receipt to

claim the inducement for distribution from the university's research office. Again, the students' enthusiasm to partake in the study suggested the chosen incentive was appropriate.

### *Statistical Analyses*

Four dependent variables (public image as an athlete, public image as a person, public image as a citizen, and perceived endorsement value) and two independent variables (race and stimulus) were statistically analysed using SPSS software version 15.0. Firstly, descriptive statistics were calculated for characterisation of the sample as a whole, as well as sub-samples of experimental groups. Secondly, scaling analyses were conducted, including reliability testing using Cronbach's Alpha. Next, factor analyses were conducted to test the multidimensionality of the concept scales. Lastly, factorial ANOVAs were completed to test hypotheses and explore research questions.

### *Study 1.*

## FREQUENCIES AND DESCRIPTIVES

Descriptive and inferential statistics were calculated for analyses using participants' responses. Data were cleaned to check for values beyond the limitations of the scales which were subsequently corrected or dropped, resulting in a sample of  $n=259$  participants. Procedure analysis revealed a minor assignment bias to the black athlete treatment group as a result of the random disbursement of participants to the four groups.

Importantly, while completion of the self-administered survey was necessary for statistical analyses, the follow-up online survey served a complementary purpose; therefore, failure to complete the follow-up online questionnaire did not hinder the effectiveness of statistical analysis for the initial questionnaire. Analyses of both questionnaires were then used separately and collectively to address the hypotheses with explanatory inferences and

the research questions with exploratory data. Means within the groups were compared with basic and applied statistical testing for indication of stimulus effect.

### DATA TRANSFORMATION

In order for inferential analyses to be conducted, data collected by use of Likert-scales were transformed into index scales. By summing the numerical scores of scaled questions per concept, index scales were created to represent an individual composite figure for each concept. As there were seven questions worth a possible five points each, the potential overall worth for each concept was a total of thirty-five points. Index scales' means among the groups were compared with basic and applied statistical testing for indication of stimulus effect and internal reliability.

### SCALING DIMENSIONALITY

Exploratory factor analyses were conducted to identify the multidimensionality of questionnaire items intended to measure each of the public image variables and the perceived endorsement value variable. Factor analyses rest on correlations between items. Underlying the resulting factor structure is an assumed casual factor which is not overtly measured (de Vaus, 2002). In exploratory mode, "the aim is to determine the number and nature of the factors necessary to account for the correlations" (Kinnear & Gray, 2008, p. 544). Therefore, while the anticipated outcome was seven dimensions per factor, SPSS analyses were run to check the appropriateness and exclusiveness of each dimension. Ultimately, this served as an exploratory exercise to assess the value of designing an altered scale for others to use in the future as a long scale.

Sample size is influential on factor analyses results, although previous literature is ambiguous in its discussion on a suitable size. Osborne, Costello and Kellow (2008) identified two camps of sample discussion. One camp suggests a subject-to-variable ratio

approach; however, researchers within this camp are torn on the appropriate ratio. Indeed, some members even believe a subject-to-item ratio is more effective. Although a standard ratio cannot be decided, researchers do agree that the higher the ratio the better (Osborne et al., 2008). This study had a 64:1 subject-to-variable ratio and a 9:1 subject-to-item ratio, higher than any of the minimum ratios presented by Osborne et al.'s (2008) review of previous literature.

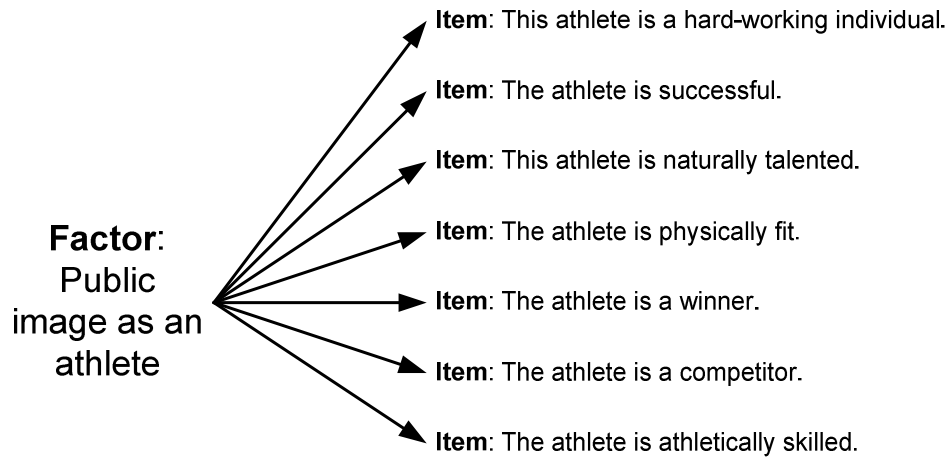
The alternate camp determines sample size adequacy in exploratory factor analyses by establishing a minimum total sample size (Osborne et al., 2008), although that number varies amongst researchers. Comfrey and Lee (1992) suggested that “the adequacy of sample size might be evaluated very roughly on the following scale: 50 – very poor; 100 – poor; 200 – fair; 300 – good; 500 – very good; 1000 or more – excellent” (p. 217), yet, others range the minimum sample size between  $n=50$  and  $n=400$  (Osborne et al., 2008). This study's sample was  $n=259$  classifying it as a fair sample size according to Comfrey and Lee (1992). While it is a large sample, its limitation lies in its lack of representativeness, evident in the instability of the factor loadings. Importantly, this is only exploratory analysis. Certainly, a larger more, representative sample for scaling research is needed as detailed in the discussion chapter.

The SPSS analyses were conducted to objectively identify the number of components (factors) being measured by questionnaire items. A factor analysis mathematically quantifies the correlations of individual items contributing to a factor (Kinnear & Gray, 2008). In other words, a factor analysis identifies the relationship between a factor and the component items (de Vaus, 2002). For example, Figure 31 depicts the relationship being measuring for correlations between the public image as an athlete factor and its corresponding questionnaire items. The factor loadings obtained by running a factor analysis identify which items belong to which factors (de Vaus, 2002). As such, the closer a correlation is to the number one, the higher its level of importance within the group of items in measuring a factor.



Figure 31

*Verification of the Above Seven Items Measuring their Intended Public Image as an Athlete Factor was Supported by Factor Loadings Obtained from Running an Exploratory Factor Analysis*



Note: Adapated from de Vaus (2002).

Based on participants' responses, the software correlated questionnaire items according to similarity. As a result, three components were identified from the twenty-eight questionnaire items (see Table 2). SPSS identified fourteen items that scored a higher factor loading for component one than for the other components. Component one was dominated by six items intended to measure public image as a citizen and five intended to measure perceived endorsement value. With eleven of the fourteen items intended to measure perceived endorsement value and public image as a citizen, there is suggestion that these two concepts measure an overlapping theme of public persona. Three items from public image as a person and one item for public image as an athlete were also included (see Table 3). However, the loading for the public image as an athlete item (.64) for component one was similar to its loading for component two (.61). Given that component two consisted entirely of the remaining six items for the public image as an athlete variable, it is reasonable to conclude that all seven items indeed measured the same variable (see Table 4).

Table 2

*An exploratory factor analysis identified three distinct components (factors) being measured by the questionnaire items*

---

<u>SPSS component</u>	<u>N Items</u>
One	14
Two	7
Three	7

---

Table 3

*Having the Majority of Items Intended to Measure Endorsement Value and Public Image as a Citizen Assignment to Component 1 Suggest Those Items Measure an Overlapping Theme of Public Persona*

<u>Questionnaire items for component 1</u>	<u>Factor loadings</u>
This athlete is an appropriate endorser for Nike	.72
This athlete sets a good example for a young audience.	.89
This athlete's values are a good match for a Nike endorser.	.80
This athlete is moral.	.84
This athlete is a good representation of his country.	.80
This athlete demonstrates pro-social behaviour.	.80
This athlete would be a credible endorser.	.82
This athlete is a good representative of the swimming community.	.88
The athlete has a high level of self-esteem.	.60
This athlete has earned the right to be a Nike endorser.	.75
This athlete positively represents the Nike brand.	.86
This athlete is a good role model for other athletes.	.89
I would be proud to have this athlete represent my country.	.83
The athlete is honest.	.82

Table 4

*The Seven Questionnaire Items Allocated to Component Two Based on Score Loadings Corroborate with their Intended Role of Measuring Public Image as an Athlete*

---

<u>Questionnaire items for component 2</u>	<u>Factor loadings</u>
The athlete is a hard-working individual.	.61
This athlete is successful.	.70
This athlete is naturally talented.	.71
The athlete is physically fit.	.77
The athlete is a winner.	.70
The athlete is a competitor.	.71
The athlete is athletically skilled.	.77

---

The third component was dominated by four items of public image as a citizen. Additionally, it included two items of perceived endorsement value and one item for public image as a citizen (see Table 5). The items within this component are representative of the athlete's private persona, suggesting that in order to be an effective endorser, the athlete has to be perceived as a good person.

Table 5

*SPSS Identified the Seven Questionnaire Items that Correlate Most Strongly with Components Three*

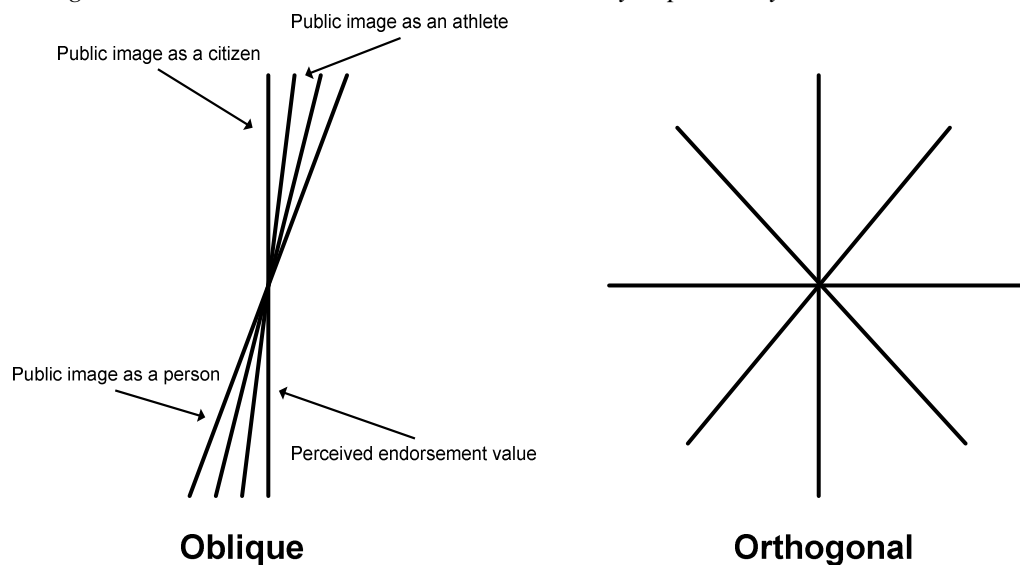
<u>Questionnaire items for component 3</u>	<u>Factor loadings</u>
I trust this athlete.	.67
The athlete has an attractive lifestyle.	.63
The athlete is a good person.	.62
I would want to be this athlete's friend.	.65
The athlete contributes significantly to the community.	.55
The athlete is intelligent.	.67
The athlete makes me want to purchase Nike products.	.73

Early indications suggest that there are three factors that correlate rather than four. Using the oblimin method of factor analysis, the overlap of the multidimensional scaling became evident. However, the identification of three factors is not necessarily correct based on the default simple structure of factor extraction. The use of simple structure means that items are correlated based on the minimum number of factors possible (Kinnear & Gray, 2008). Based on an oblique non-orthogonal axis, the variables are closer together than on an orthogonal axis (see Figure 32); hence, the factor analysis did not produce the four factors cleanly. As such, using an oblique rotation would be more appropriate given the interrelatedness of the factors as evident in the discussion of previous literature. When attempting to minimise correlations between factors and produce cleanly separated factors, an

orthogonal approach is appropriate (de Vaus, 2002). However, a more accommodating approach was needed for the overlapping qualities of the public image and endorsement value factors. Therefore, an oblique rotation was used as a correlation between factors was expected and an orthogonal rotation is not adequately sensitive to account for the relatedness of the factors (de Vaus, 2002).

Figure 32

*The Oblique Rotation Recognises the Interrelatedness of the Factors Whereas the Orthogonal Rotation Assumes Factors are Distinctly Separate by 90°*



Although the similarities of the items were accounted for in the rotation by using the oblique type, the simple structure of the exploratory mode could not be compensated. The arrangement of the items into three factors was the simplest explanation, however, that does not translate to the organisation of factors being the most effective, correct or thorough. Indeed, the assembly of the items into three factors does establish a set of parameters, but it is equally important to identify the impossibility of achieving a simple structure (Kinnear & Gray, 2008). Ultimately, conducting a confirmatory factor analysis is desired to test pre-

determined arrangements of the items into factors (Kinnear & Gray, 2008). Unfortunately, at present SPSS offers only exploratory factor analysis functions.

Based on the limitations of the software, the four factors created based on previous literature remained intact. Generally, the pre-determined allocation of items corresponded with the statistical calculations. For instance, the items that correlated highly for factor one within SPSS were representative of the athlete's public persona as the relationship between the factor and endorsement value/public image as a citizen dominated the loading battery. Similarly, the second factor, focusing on the athlete's behaviour, mirrored the predetermined allocation of items measuring public image as an athlete. Lastly, the third factor determined by SPSS described the athlete's private persona, suggesting that the audience associates the effectiveness of an endorser with the goodness of his character. Although the software did identify three rather than four factors, the results simply suggest that public image as an athlete, public image as a citizen, public image as a person and perceived endorsement value are variations of the same theme of characteristics.

## RELIABILITY

Statistical calculations allowed for the appropriateness and eventual successfulness of the traits, both individually and as contributors to an overall concept, to be assessed. Chronbach's alpha was used to determine the significance of each question in contributing to the inference of participants' attitudes towards perceived endorsement value and the three dimensions of public image by use of the index scales. By computing Chronbach's alpha, internal consistency reliability was conducted on the four concepts' allocated questions. Through this, items were tested for their consistency in representing a particular dimension or concept in comparison to other items on the questionnaire intended to represent the same concept (Salkind, 2005). In particular, the reliability was used in order to assess the consistency of

items being operationalised through the survey to measure the concepts. For example, internal consistency reliability was calculated for endorsement value by computing Chronbach's Alpha for the qualities of appropriateness (Q3), trustworthiness (Q4), brand fit (Q7), credibility (Q20), entitlement (Q24), positive representation (Q26) and persuasiveness (Q38), represented by the endorsement value index scale. This was also computed individually for public image as a person, public image as an athlete and public image as a citizen. Finally, the overall instrument reliability was calculated.

The four factors individually scored high alphas, but the highest alphas resulted from combining all four factors together. The closer the alpha is to approaching 1, the better the scale reliability (Carmines & Zeller, 1979). Table 6 reports the reliability alphas of the four concepts operationalised in the questionnaire through Likert-scale responses, as well as the composite reliability of all scale items as an overall index scale labelled "All". This overall index scale emerged as the most reliable ( $\alpha = .96$ ). This suggests that there is intercorrelations between the public image and endorsement value scales, making their reliability strongest when in conjunction with each other. Notable, the reliability alpha could not have been improved through removal of any items, suggesting that all twenty-eight items work together to measure the same general construct.



Table 6

*Combining All Four Factors Resulted in the Highest Alpha which Suggests There is Intercorrelation Between the Public Image and Endorsement Value Scales*

<u>Index Scale</u>	<u>N Items</u>	<u>N Sample</u>	<u>Cronbach's Alpha</u>
Public image as an athlete	7	259	.86
Public image as a person	7	259	.87
Public image as a citizen	7	259	.92
Endorsement value	7	259	.88
All	28	259	.96

Individually, public image as a citizen emerged as the most reliable concept with  $\alpha = .92$ . Table 7 reports the potential revised reliability for the concept pending the removal of each of the seven items measuring the concept. With the removal of "The athlete contributes significantly to the community", the reliability coefficient would improve to  $\alpha = .94$ . However, while the removal of the item would improve reliability of public image as a citizen individually, it would have no effect on the overall reliability coefficient with it remaining at  $\alpha = .96$ . Therefore, the item was not removed.

Table 7

*No Improvement Could be Made to the Reliability Alpha of Public Image as a Citizen Through the Removal of Questionnaire Items*

<u>Questionnaire items for public image as a citizen</u>	<u>Cronbach's alpha</u>
This athlete sets a good example for a young audience.	.91
This athlete is a good representation of his country.	.92
The athlete demonstrates pro-social behaviour.	.92
This athlete is a good representative of the swimming community.	.91
The athlete contributes significantly to the community.	.94
This athlete is a good role model for other athletes.	.90
I would be proud to have this athlete represent my country.	.91

Endorsement value ranked second highest in internal consistency reliability with a coefficient of  $\alpha = .88$ . Table 8 reports the improved reliability potential given the removal of each individual questionnaire item intended to measure endorsement value. Only one of the items could be removed for an improved reliability score. With the removal of "The athlete makes me want to purchase Nike products", the reliability coefficient for endorsement value would improve to  $\alpha = .90$ . However, note that with the removal of that item the overall reliability would not be improved ( $\alpha = .96$ ); as a result, the item remained as a measure when considering the interrelatedness of public image and endorsement value.

Table 8

*The Overall Alpha Variable Cannot be Improved Through the Removal of Questionnaire Items*

<u>Questionnaire items for endorsement value</u>	<u>Cronbach's alpha</u>
This athlete is an appropriate endorser for Nike.	.86
I trust this athlete.	.87
The athlete's values are a good match for a Nike endorser.	.85
This athlete would be a credible endorser.	.85
This athlete has earned the right to be a Nike endorser.	.86
This athlete positively represents the Nike brand.	.85
The athlete makes me want to purchase Nike products.	.90

The next highest ranked concept in reliability was public image as a person ( $\alpha = .87$ ). Notably, none of the seven questionnaire items had the potential to improve the internal consistency reliability of the individual concept through their removal (Table 9Table 9). Moreover, the overall reliability coefficient of  $\alpha = .96$  could not have been improved with the removal of any of the items, either. As a result, all items were included for the purpose of statistical analyses.

Table 9

*No Items were Removed from the Public Image as a Person Variable as the Reliability Alpha was at its Optimal Level*

<u>Questionnaire items for public image as a person</u>	<u>Cronbach's alpha</u>
This athlete is moral.	.84
The athlete has an attractive lifestyle.	.86
The athlete is a good person.	.84
I would want to be this athlete's friend.	.85
This athlete has a high level of self-esteem.	.86
The athlete is intelligent.	.84
The athlete is honest.	.83

Public image as an athlete had the lowest level of reliability ( $\alpha = .86$ ), though still a significant coefficient. Again, all seven questionnaire items intended to measure the individual concept were examined for a potential reliability improvement through their removal. As evident in

Table 10, the individual reliability coefficient for public image as an athlete could not have been improved through the removal of any of the questionnaire items. Equally important for consideration is that removing any items would provide no improvements to the overall reliability coefficient. Consequently, all seven items of public image as an athlete were maintained for statistical analyses.

Table 10

*Removing Items from the Public Image as an Athlete Variable Would have been Detrimental to the Reliability Alpha*

<u>Questionnaire items for public image as an athlete</u>	<u>Cronbach's alpha</u>
This athlete is a hard-working individual.	.84
This athlete is successful.	.83
This athlete is naturally talented.	.85
The athlete is physically fit.	.83
The athlete is a winner.	.83
The athlete is a competitor.	.84
The athlete is athletically skilled.	.83

Importantly, none of the questionnaire items were removed from any of the four concepts being measured through the survey. While removal of particular items could have marginally improved the reliability for an individual concept, the overall reliability of all four concepts combined was treated as more important than individual reliabilities given the superior alpha coefficient for the "all" index scale ( $\alpha = .96$ ). The significance of this coefficient demonstrates the inherent intercorrelation of public image and endorsement value on behalf of the consumers when assessing an endorser.

#### FACTORIAL ANOVA

Once the reliability of the instrument was assessed and the appropriateness of the scales considered, the difference in means could then be compared for significance through the use

of a factorial ANOVA. Experiments measuring two or more variables are known as factorial experiments or factorial designs (Kinnear & Gray, 2008), with this form of experiment being the most commonly used approach by which to manipulate two or more independent variable (Keppel & Wickens, 2004) by means of SPSS. Therefore, in order to test significance of difference in means, a factorial ANOVA was computed to compare the influence of the two independent variables (race and cloud of suspicion) on the dependent variables (public image and endorsement value).

Primarily, ANOVA tests are used to measure the difference between two or more groups (Salkind, 2005), appropriate for the modified Solomon four-group design of Study 1. However, as a factorial ANOVA requires two or more factors (Salkind, 2005), or independent variables, experiment groups were dissected into control versus treatment groups, then collapsed according to the athlete's skin colour, to represent the independent variables of stimulus and race (see Table 11). In other words, a factorial ANOVA measures the impact of independent variables on dependent variables with every possible combination (Keppel & Wickens, 2004; Weiss, 2005). Given that both factors are related to the same sample of participants, a between-groups ANOVA was completed (Heiman, 2004) for each concept represented by hypotheses and research questions. The factorial ANOVA allowed for analysis of simultaneous independent variable effect both individually and as a result of interaction (Salkind, 2005) on different segments of the sample. This examination of interactions between factors is a near genuine reflection of the real world in which individuals are constantly influenced by simultaneous stimuli (Weiss, 2005).

Table 11

*Independent Variables were Dissected and Collapsed to Isolate the Stimulus and Race Factors*

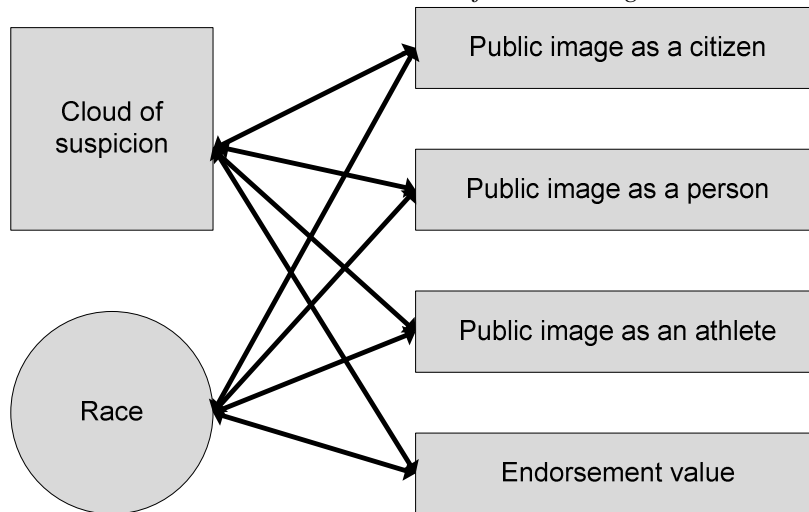
	Stimulus	
	No cloud of suspicion	Cloud of suspicion
Race		
White	$\bar{x}$ (control group)	$\bar{x}$ (treatment group)
Black	$\bar{x}$ (control group)	$\bar{x}$ (treatment group)

Note: Adapted from Heiman (2004, p. 227).

Factorial designs measure both main effects and interactions of independent variables (Kinnear & Gray, 2008). Main effect is the isolated impact an independent variable has on a dependent variable (Heiman, 2004). More complexly, an interaction assesses the level of significance of the impact of independent variables operating concurrently on dependent variables (Keppel & Wickens, 2004). More specifically, “factorial designs are those in which the independent variables to are completely crossed” (Keppel & Wickens, 2004, p. 193) so as to assess every possible combination of the independent variables (see Figure 33). Each dependent measure (public image and endorsement value) was submitted to a two (white or black) by two (no cloud of suspicion or cloud of suspicion) between-subjects factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA), as represented in Table 10. The impacts of a cloud of suspicion and race were individually measured against public image as a person, public image as an athlete, public image as a citizen and endorsement value. Importantly, in order for an ANOVA test to be an appropriate analysis, fulfilment of four criteria is necessary: random sampling, independence of scores, normality of distribution, and homogeneity within variances (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 290). Yet while the sample for Study 1 was an opportunistic purposive sample, ANOVA analysis was still appropriate given the random distribution of participants within the sample to experiment groups.

Figure 33

*The Impacts of a Cloud of Suspicion and Race were Individually Measured Against Endorsement Value and all Elements of Public Image*



Note: Adapted from Weiss (2005, p. 29).

*Summary of methodology, hypotheses and research questions.*

A total of  $n=259$  university students participated in experimental manipulation in which they were randomly assignment to one of four conditions during late January to early April, 2008. Participants were purposively and conveniently selected for voluntary participation from a university required class to obtain a representative sample from the university population. The stimulus material was based on an actual online newspaper source, but names and events were altered for appropriateness to the experiment's fictional athletes. Measurement items were based on previous literature to create a likert-scale instrument. Statistical procedures including descriptive statistics, scaling analyses, factor analyses and factorial ANOVAs, were then used to characterise the sample while testing the following hypotheses and research questions:



- H1: A cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use will diminish positive audience attitudes towards a sports hero in his public image role as an athlete.
- H2: A cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use will diminish positive audience attitudes towards a sports hero in his public image role as a person.
- H3: A cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use will diminish positive audience attitudes towards a sports hero in his public image role as a citizen.
- H4: A cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use will have a negative effect of a sports hero's perceived endorsement value.
- RQ1a: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use diminish positive audience attitudes towards the white sports hero in his public image role as an athlete?
- RQ1b: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use diminish positive audience attitudes towards a black sports hero in his public image role as an athlete?
- RQ2a: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use diminish positive audience attitudes towards the white sports hero in his public image role as a person?
- RQ2b: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use diminish positive audience attitudes towards a black sports hero in his public image role as a person?
- RQ3a: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use diminish positive audience attitudes towards a white sports hero in his public image role as a citizen?
- RQ3b: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use diminish positive audience attitudes towards a black sports hero in his public image role as a citizen?
- RQ4a: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use have a negative effect on a white sports hero's perceived endorsement value?
- RQ4b: Will a cloud of suspicion regarding steroid use have a negative effect on a black sports hero's perceived endorsement value?

## Chapter 5

### *Results*

A combined sample of  $n=286$  undergraduate students participated in Study 1 and Study 2. Of that overall total,  $n=259$  students provided quantitative responses via the paper and online questionnaire instruments. Measuring public image and perceived endorsement value required Study 1 participants to indicate their levels of agreement, with 1 being the lowest and 5 being the highest, to twenty-eight questionnaire items in relation to the presented fictional athletes. The fictitious nature of the sports heroes isolated the influence of the media in forming fan identification, allowing data interpretation to focus on participants' instinctual responses to a cloud of suspicion and race. The online survey also provided a quantitative measurement of Social Judgment Theory applied to steroid use in professional sport while also supplying participants with an outlet to indicate countries whose athletes are perceived as steroid abusers. As the US was identified as the country with the largest amount of steroid using athletes, recruiting American participants to voice their opinions regarding steroid issues in sport by way of focus group discussion forums was compelling.

Qualitative verbal responses were provided by  $n=27$  American study abroad undergraduate students. While discussion questions mirrored the operationalisation of concepts in Study 1, the more adaptable nature of Study 2 allowed flexibility in participant responses in broaching issues not viable with the more rigid quantitative style used in Study 1. As such, data for the two studies 2 were analysed according to their respective methodological approaches.

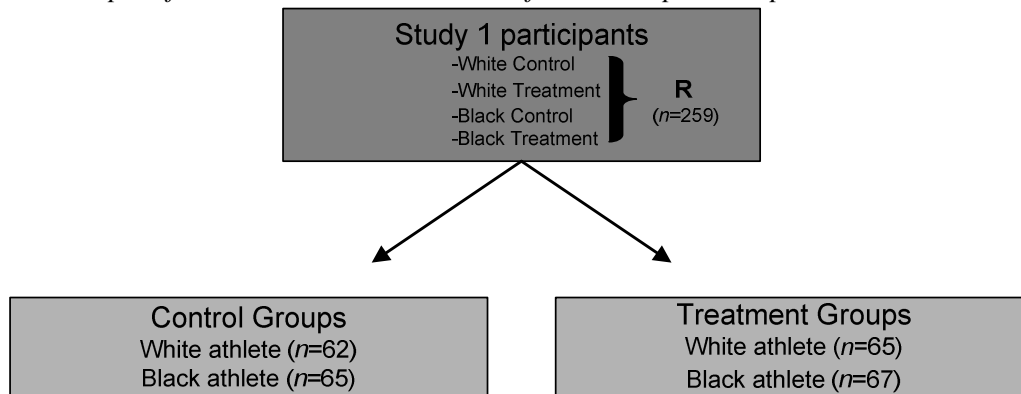
### *Study 1*

The sample size was  $n=259$  participants for Study 1. Figure 34 depicts the breakdown of the sample for Study 1 according to control and treatment groups. Of these,  $n=132$  participants received the cloud of suspicion stimulus. Within that total,  $n=65$  participants were in the white athlete treatment group and  $n=67$  participants were in the black athlete treatment group.

Likewise,  $n=127$  participants in the control groups were given no stimulus. The white athlete control group had  $n=62$  participants compared to the black athlete control group's sample of  $n=65$  participants. The response rate for completion of the follow-up online survey was 68%.

Figure 34

*The Sample of  $N=259$  Students Consisted of Four Sample Groups*



*Individual item results.*

Comparisons of means for public image as an athlete (see Table 12), public image as a person (see Table 14), public image as a citizen (see Table 16), and perceived endorsement value (see Table 18) among the experimental groups highlight differences in groups' reactions to the sports heroes. For public image as an athlete, the white athlete control group scored a higher mean than the white athlete treatment group on all questions except one ("The athlete is naturally talented"), indicating an overall higher level of agreement to the positive statements of the sports hero's public image role as an athlete. However, the black athlete control group scored a higher mean level of agreement than the black athlete treatment group on only four out of the seven public image as an athlete statements.

Table 12

*Mean Scores for Questionnaire Items Measuring Public Image as an Athlete per Experiment Group*

<u>Public image as an athlete</u>	<u>White athlete control group</u>	<u>White athlete treatment group</u>	<u>Black athlete control group</u>	<u>Black athlete treatment group</u>
This athlete is a hard-working individual.	$\bar{x} = 4.29$ SD = .66	$\bar{x} = 3.52$ SD = 1.06	$\bar{x} = 4.31$ SD = .87	$\bar{x} = 3.73$ SD = 1.07
This athlete is successful.	$\bar{x} = 4.35$ SD = .73	$\bar{x} = 4.00$ SD = 1.08	$\bar{x} = 4.32$ SD = .79	$\bar{x} = 3.96$ SD = 1.16
This athlete is naturally talented.	$\bar{x} = 3.40$ SD = .82	$\bar{x} = 3.49$ SD = 1.05	$\bar{x} = 3.45$ SD = 1.09	$\bar{x} = 3.67$ SD = 1.16
The athlete is physically fit.	$\bar{x} = 4.47$ SD = .65	$\bar{x} = 3.95$ SD = .94	$\bar{x} = 4.31$ SD = .92	$\bar{x} = 4.34$ SD = .95
The athlete is a winner.	$\bar{x} = 3.89$ SD = .93	$\bar{x} = 3.32$ SD = 1.16	$\bar{x} = 4.09$ SD = .83	$\bar{x} = 3.63$ SD = 1.22
The athlete is a competitor.	$\bar{x} = 4.00$ SD = .92	$\bar{x} = 3.95$ SD = 1.08	$\bar{x} = 4.06$ SD = 1.03	$\bar{x} = 4.19$ SD = 1.05
The athlete is athletically skilled.	$\bar{x} = 4.23$ SD = .76	$\bar{x} = 3.88$ SD = .99	$\bar{x} = 4.26$ SD = .80	$\bar{x} = 4.04$ SD = .91

When both control groups and both treatment groups are collapsed respectively (see Figure 34), the collaborative scores of the control groups scored higher means on five of the seven public image as an athlete statements (see Table 13), indicating a higher degree of positive attitudes towards a sports hero clear of a cloud of suspicion than a sports hero surrounded by a cloud of suspicion. Yet the treatment group scored higher means than the control group on the items “The athlete is naturally talented” and “The athlete is a competitor”. Consequently, even a cloud of suspicion does not taint the natural athleticism of a sports hero.

Table 13

*The Overall Control Group Scored Higher Means than the Treatment Group for Five of the Seven Items Measuring Public Image as an Athlete*

<u>Public image as an athlete</u>	<u>Control group</u>	<u>Treatment group</u>
This athlete is a hard-working individual.	$\bar{x} = 4.30$ SD = .77	$\bar{x} = 3.63$ SD = 1.07
This athlete is successful.	$\bar{x} = 4.34$ SD = .76	$\bar{x} = 3.98$ SD = 1.12
This athlete is naturally talented.	$\bar{x} = 3.43$ SD = .96	$\bar{x} = 3.58$ SD = 1.11
The athlete is physically fit.	$\bar{x} = 4.39$ SD = .80	$\bar{x} = 4.15$ SD = .96
The athlete is a winner.	$\bar{x} = 3.99$ SD = .88	$\bar{x} = 3.48$ SD = 1.20
The athlete is a competitor.	$\bar{x} = 4.03$ SD = .98	$\bar{x} = 4.08$ SD = 1.07
The athlete is athletically skilled.	$\bar{x} = 4.24$ SD = .77	$\bar{x} = 3.96$ SD = .95

The negative impact of a cloud of suspicion on participant evaluations of the sports heroes was apparent. Table 14 portrays the group means for public image as a person. For all seven statements, the control groups scored higher individual means than their treatment group counterparts, indicating a stronger degree of positive attitudes towards athletes lacking steroid allegations.

Participant evaluations demonstrated the public aversion to steroid use by professional athletes when examining questionnaire items in which the differences between the control groups and treatment groups mean scores were the largest. The largest difference in mean scores between the white athlete treatment group and the white athlete control group was in response to the questionnaire item “This athlete is moral”. The control group scored  $\bar{x}=4.06$  compared to the treatment group’s score of  $\bar{x}=2.51$ , resulting in a difference in scores of 1.55. Although mean scores for the participants in the black athlete groups were not as large as the white athlete groups, there was a difference of .94 in response to the item “The athlete is honest” with the control group score of  $\bar{x}=3.06$  and the treatment group score of  $\bar{x}=2.66$ . Certainly, participant evaluations of the fictional sports heroes suggest the perception of steroids in sport to be unethical.

Table 14

*The Control Groups Out-Scored their Treatment Group Counterparts for all Elements of Public Image as a Person*

<u>Public image as a person</u>	<u>White athlete control group</u>	<u>White athlete treatment group</u>	<u>Black athlete control group</u>	<u>Black athlete treatment group</u>
This athlete is moral.	$\bar{x} = 4.06$ SD = .86	$\bar{x} = 2.51$ SD = 1.05	$\bar{x} = 4.00$ SD = .90	$\bar{x} = 3.60$ SD = 1.23
This athlete has an attractive lifestyle.	$\bar{x} = 3.71$ SD = 1.08	$\bar{x} = 3.31$ SD = 1.26	$\bar{x} = 3.75$ SD = .83	$\bar{x} = 3.43$ SD = 1.34
This athlete is a good person.	$\bar{x} = 3.82$ SD = .84	$\bar{x} = 3.20$ SD = .92	$\bar{x} = 3.88$ SD = .82	$\bar{x} = 3.37$ SD = 1.00
I would want to be this athlete's friend.	$\bar{x} = 3.48$ SD = .97	$\bar{x} = 2.82$ SD = 1.01	$\bar{x} = 3.55$ SD = .81	$\bar{x} = 3.04$ SD = 1.07
The athlete has a high level of self-esteem.	$\bar{x} = 3.98$ SD = .84	$\bar{x} = 3.57$ SD = 1.00	$\bar{x} = 4.05$ SD = .76	$\bar{x} = 3.46$ SD = 1.19
The athlete is intelligent.	$\bar{x} = 3.29$ SD = .93	$\bar{x} = 2.75$ SD = 1.00	$\bar{x} = 3.48$ SD = .89	$\bar{x} = 3.03$ SD = 1.03
The athlete is honest.	$\bar{x} = 3.60$ SD = .97	$\bar{x} = 2.40$ SD = .92	$\bar{x} = 3.60$ SD = .88	$\bar{x} = 2.66$ SD = 1.05



The aversion to steroids is further emphasised when the control groups and treatment groups are collapsed, with the overall control group out-scoring the overall treatment group across all seven dimensions of public image as a person (see Table 15). As with the white athlete groups, the questionnaire item “This athlete is moral” produce the largest difference in means between the control group and the treatment group at a variation of 1.24. When considering a score of 5 is the highest level of agreement on the instrument’s Likert-scale, the control group’s mean score of  $\bar{x}=4.03$  is a noticeably higher expression of agreement to the athletes being perceived as moral than the treatment group’s mean of  $\bar{x}=2.79$ . The concern of steroid use as a form of cheating is clear.

Table 15

*The Overall Control Group Scored Higher Means than the Treatment Group for all Items Measuring Public Image as a Person*

<u>Public image as a person</u>	<u>Control group</u>	<u>Treatment group</u>
This athlete is moral.	$\bar{x} = 4.03$ SD = .89	$\bar{x} = 2.79$ SD = 1.17
This athlete has an attractive lifestyle.	$\bar{x} = 3.73$ SD = .96	$\bar{x} = 3.37$ SD = 1.30
The athlete is a good person.	$\bar{x} = 3.85$ SD = .83	$\bar{x} = 3.29$ SD = .96
I would want to be this athlete's friend.	$\bar{x} = 3.52$ SD = .89	$\bar{x} = 2.93$ SD = 1.04
The athlete has a high level of self-esteem.	$\bar{x} = 4.02$ SD = .80	$\bar{x} = 3.52$ SD = 1.10
The athlete is intelligent.	$\bar{x} = 3.39$ SD = .91	$\bar{x} = 2.89$ SD = 1.02
The athlete is honest.	$\bar{x} = 3.60$ SD = .92	$\bar{x} = 2.53$ SD = .99

For all seven dimensions of public image as a citizen, the control groups scored higher means than their corresponding treatment groups. Table 16 represents the means scores for each statement according to experiment groups. The obvious differences between the mean scores of the control and treatment groups demonstrate the importance of sport in representing countries internationally. Indeed, the questionnaire item "This athlete contributes significantly to the community" received the smallest difference in responses from the control and treatment groups, indicating more passionate interests in Olympic athletes positively representing a country rather than a smaller community. The sizeable mean differences between control and treatment groups extend to both the white and black athlete groups.

Table 16

*The Control Groups Out-Scored their Treatment Group Counterparts for all Elements of Public Image as a Citizen*

<u>Public image as a citizen</u>	<u>White athlete control group</u>	<u>White athlete treatment group</u>	<u>Black athlete control group</u>	<u>Black athlete treatment group</u>
This athlete sets a good example for a young audience.	$\bar{x} = 4.27$ SD = .85	$\bar{x} = 2.54$ SD = 1.05	$\bar{x} = 4.49$ SD = .64	$\bar{x} = 2.97$ SD = 1.39
This athlete is a good representation of his country.	$\bar{x} = 4.13$ SD = .98	$\bar{x} = 2.68$ SD = 1.12	$\bar{x} = 4.09$ SD = .88	$\bar{x} = 3.24$ SD = 1.23
This athlete demonstrates pro-social behaviour.	$\bar{x} = 4.19$ SD = .74	$\bar{x} = 2.85$ SD = 1.11	$\bar{x} = 4.03$ SD = .79	$\bar{x} = 3.13$ SD = 1.21
This athlete is a good representative of the swimming community.	$\bar{x} = 4.39$ SD = .73	$\bar{x} = 2.75$ SD = 1.25	$\bar{x} = 4.28$ SD = .74	$\bar{x} = 3.01$ SD = 1.27
The athlete contributes significantly to the community.	$\bar{x} = 3.37$ SD = 1.01	$\bar{x} = 2.72$ SD = .96	$\bar{x} = 3.35$ SD = .91	$\bar{x} = 2.87$ SD = 1.06
This athlete is a good role model for other athletes.	$\bar{x} = 4.15$ SD = .85	$\bar{x} = 2.48$ SD = 1.03	$\bar{x} = 4.18$ SD = .66	$\bar{x} = 2.73$ SD = 1.26
I would be proud to have this athlete represent my country.	$\bar{x} = 3.92$ SD = .96	$\bar{x} = 2.63$ SD = 1.15	$\bar{x} = 3.97$ SD = .94	$\bar{x} = 2.99$ SD = 1.35

When control and treatment groups were collapsed for mean comparison of responses to public image as a citizen, the results confirmed an indication of more positive attitudes from the control group participants than the treatment group participants (see Table 17). The control group scored higher means than the treatment group on all seven public image as a citizen items. In particular, the control group was most passionate when responding to “This athlete sets a good example for a young audience” with a score of  $\bar{x}=4.39$ , indicating favourable reactions to the athletes as role models for children. The treatment group disagreed with the control group’s reaction by scoring a lower mean of  $\bar{x}=2.76$ . A cloud of suspicion was effective in impacting participant evaluations of the athletes’ representations as responsible citizens.

Table 17

*The Overall Control Group Scored Higher Means than the Treatment Group for all Items Measuring Public Image as a Citizen*

<u>Public image as a citizen</u>	<u>Control group</u>	<u>Treatment group</u>
This athlete sets a good example for a young audience.	$\bar{x} = 4.39$ SD = .76	$\bar{x} = 2.76$ SD = 1.25
This athlete is a good representation of his country.	$\bar{x} = 4.11$ SD = .93	$\bar{x} = 2.96$ SD = 1.21
This athlete demonstrates pro-social behaviour.	$\bar{x} = 4.11$ SD = .77	$\bar{x} = 2.99$ SD = 1.16
This athlete is a good representative of the swimming community.	$\bar{x} = 4.33$ SD = .74	$\bar{x} = 2.89$ SD = 1.26
The athlete contributes significantly to the community.	$\bar{x} = 3.36$ SD = .96	$\bar{x} = 2.80$ SD = 1.01
The athlete is a good role model for other athletes.	$\bar{x} = 4.17$ SD = .75	$\bar{x} = 2.61$ SD = 1.16
I would be proud to have this athlete represent my country.	$\bar{x} = 3.94$ SD = .95	$\bar{x} = 2.81$ SD = 1.27

The white athlete control group and the black athlete control group both scored higher means than their treatment group counterparts on all seven dimensional statements measuring attitudes towards the sports heroes' perceived endorsement values (see Table 18). The smallest difference in means was measured for the questionnaire item "The athlete makes me want to purchase Nike products", the statement that elicited the lowest mean scores for both athlete control groups. Interestingly, the white control group scored a mean of only  $\bar{x}=2.44$  and the black control group scored a mean of  $\bar{x}=2.62$ . Although the treatment groups expressed slightly more negative reactions to the statement, the athlete treatment groups' means were similar to their athlete control group counterpart at  $\bar{x}=2.12$  (white athlete treatment group) and  $\bar{x}=2.24$  (black athlete treatment group). While a cloud of suspicion affected participant evaluations of the athletes as Nike endorsers, it was not influential on consumer purchase intent.

Table 18

*Mean Scores for Questionnaire Items Measuring Perceived Endorsement Value per Experiment Group*

<u>Perceived endorsement value</u>	<u>White athlete control group</u>	<u>White athlete treatment group</u>	<u>Black athlete control group</u>	<u>Black athlete treatment group</u>
This is an appropriate endorser for Nike.	$\bar{x} = 3.85$ SD = 1.04	$\bar{x} = 2.55$ SD = 1.16	$\bar{x} = 3.98$ SD = 1.11	$\bar{x} = 3.09$ SD = 1.10
I trust this athlete.	$\bar{x} = 3.48$ SD = 1.11	$\bar{x} = 2.54$ SD = .97	$\bar{x} = 3.60$ SD = 1.21	$\bar{x} = 2.91$ SD = 1.06
This athlete's values are a good match for a Nike endorser.	$\bar{x} = 3.90$ SD = .94	$\bar{x} = 2.46$ SD = 1.11	$\bar{x} = 4.03$ SD = .90	$\bar{x} = 3.00$ SD = 1.27
This athlete would be a credible endorser.	$\bar{x} = 3.87$ SD = .74	$\bar{x} = 2.60$ SD = 1.06	$\bar{x} = 3.89$ SD = .85	$\bar{x} = 2.91$ SD = 1.07
This athlete has earned the right to be a Nike endorser.	$\bar{x} = 3.95$ SD = .80	$\bar{x} = 2.77$ SD = 1.07	$\bar{x} = 4.02$ SD = .98	$\bar{x} = 3.31$ SD = 1.17
This athlete positively represents the Nike brand.	$\bar{x} = 4.13$ SD = .80	$\bar{x} = 2.52$ SD = .97	$\bar{x} = 4.00$ SD = .95	$\bar{x} = 3.03$ SD = 1.30
The athlete makes me want to purchase Nike products.	$\bar{x} = 2.44$ SD = 1.13	$\bar{x} = 2.12$ SD = 1.04	$\bar{x} = 2.62$ SD = 1.11	$\bar{x} = 2.24$ SD = 1.17

Upon collapsing control groups and treatment groups, the control groups scored higher means than the treatment group on each statement measuring perceived endorsement value (see Table 19). Again, both control group and treatment group mean responses were lowest for the statement “The athlete makes me want to purchase Nike products”. Therefore, responses indicate more positive attitudes from participants when a sports hero is free from a cloud of suspicion, yet the favourable evaluations of the endorser are not motivational for purchasing the brand.

Table 19

*The Overall Control Group Scored Higher Means than the Treatment Group for all Items Perceived Endorsement Value*

<u>Perceived Endorsement Value</u>	<u>Control group</u>	<u>Treatment group</u>
This athlete is an appropriate endorser for Nike.	$\bar{x} = 3.92$ SD = 1.07	$\bar{x} = 2.83$ SD = 1.16
I trust this athlete.	$\bar{x} = 3.54$ SD = 1.16	$\bar{x} = 2.73$ SD = 1.03
This athlete's values as a good match for a Nike endorser.	$\bar{x} = 3.97$ SD = .92	$\bar{x} = 2.73$ SD = 1.22
This athlete would be a credible endorser.	$\bar{x} = 3.88$ SD = .79	$\bar{x} = 2.76$ SD = 1.07
This athlete has earned the right to be a Nike endorser.	$\bar{x} = 3.98$ SD = .89	$\bar{x} = 3.05$ SD = 1.15
This athlete positively represents the Nike brand.	$\bar{x} = 4.06$ SD = .88	$\bar{x} = 2.78$ SD = 1.17
The athlete makes me want to purchase Nike products.	$\bar{x} = 2.53$ SD = 1.12	$\bar{x} = 2.18$ SD = 1.10

Once means were analysed for each individual question, indices were created to combine the dependent variable dimensions and create an overall mean score for each particular variable. As a result, the possible score for each index was thirty-five (seven

statements at a possible five points each). Table 20 depicts the overall indexed mean for public image as an athlete, public image as a person, public image as a citizen, and perceived endorsement value according to experiment group. The black athlete control group scored the highest indexed mean for public image as an athlete with a score of  $\bar{x}=28.80$ . The lowest mean was registered by the white athlete treatment group at  $\bar{x}=17.57$ . Clearly, the control groups scored higher index means than the treatment groups across all four dependent variables, indicating more positive evaluations of the sports heroes when a cloud of suspicion is lacking.



Table 20

*The Control Groups Scored Higher Index Means that the Treatment Groups Across All Four Dependent Variables*

<u>Dependent variable</u>	<u>White athlete control group</u>	<u>White athlete treatment group</u>	<u>Black athlete control group</u>	<u>Black athlete treatment group</u>
Public image as an athlete	$\bar{x} = 28.63$ SD = 3.50	$\bar{x} = 26.12$ SD = 5.86	$\bar{x} = 28.80$ SD = 4.27	$\bar{x} = 27.57$ SD = 5.73
Public image as a person	$\bar{x} = 25.95$ SD = 4.52	$\bar{x} = 20.55$ SD = 5.23	$\bar{x} = 26.31$ SD = 4.12	$\bar{x} = 22.06$ SD = 5.73
Public image as a citizen	$\bar{x} = 28.42$ SD = 4.12	$\bar{x} = 18.65$ SD = 6.17	$\bar{x} = 28.40$ SD = 3.62	$\bar{x} = 20.94$ SD = 7.41
Perceived endorsement value	$\bar{x} = 25.63$ SD = 3.96	$\bar{x} = 17.57$ SD = 5.93	$\bar{x} = 26.14$ SD = 4.25	$\bar{x} = 20.49$ SD = 6.08

The ranking order of variables in regards to the difference in means between the control group and the treatment group was identical, although the differences were not (see Table 21). The largest difference in means between the control groups and their treatment counterparts was for the variable public image as a citizen. For the white groups, the control group scored a mean of  $\bar{x} = 28.42$  compared to the treatment group's score of  $\bar{x} = 18.65$ , resulting in a difference in means of 9.77. The black athlete control group scored a mean of  $\bar{x} = 28.40$  while the black athlete treatment group scored a mean of  $\bar{x} = 20.94$ , creating a difference in means of 7.46. The smallest mean differences were measured for the sports heroes' public images as athletes, suggesting a cloud of suspicion is not as influential on participant perceptions of natural athletic talent. There is always a larger difference in means between the white athlete control group and the white athlete treatment group than for the black athlete control group and the black athlete treatment group.

Table 21

*Ranking Order of Dependent Variables According to Largest Mean Difference Between Control Groups and their Treatment Group Counterparts*

<u>Dependent variable</u>	<u><math>\bar{x}</math></u>	
	<u>White athlete groups</u>	<u>Black athlete groups</u>
Public image as a citizen	9.77	7.46
Perceived endorsement value	8.06	5.65
Public image as a person	5.40	4.25
Public image as an athlete	2.51	1.23

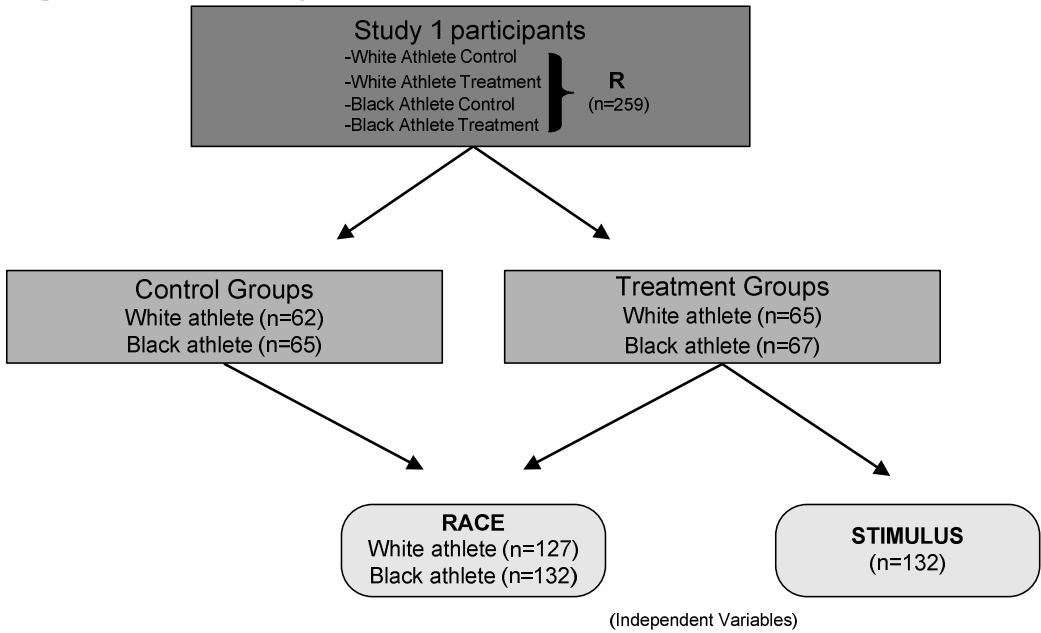
*Factorial ANOVA.*

Hypotheses were tested and research questions were explored using factorial ANOVAs in order to examine the effects of race and a cloud of suspicion on public image and endorsement value. Figure 35 visualises the breakdown of the sample to isolate the two

independent variables. Means for the four experimental groups were compared to assess the significance of their differences.

Figure 35

*The Breakdown of the Sample into Four Experiment Groups and Isolated Independent Variables Enabled a Factorial ANOVA to Examine the Effects of Race and a Cloud of Suspicion on Public Image and Endorsement Value*



## CLOUD OF SUSPICION

The significant effect of a cloud of suspicion on public image and perceived endorsement value was clear. H1, which predicted that a cloud of suspicion would diminish positive audience attitudes towards a sports hero's public image role as an athlete, was supported,  $F = 9.19 (1, 255), p < .005$ . The white athlete control group scored a mean of  $\bar{x} = 28.63$  (SD 3.50) while the black athlete control group scored a higher mean of  $\bar{x} = 28.80$  (SD 4.27). These mean scores are higher than the treatment groups' means. Table 22 displays the mean scores of all four groups for public image as an athlete.

Table 22

*Mean Scores for Public Image as an Athlete*

	Stimulus	
	No cloud of suspicion	Cloud of suspicion
Race		
White	$\bar{x} = 28.63$	$\bar{x} = 26.12$
Black	$\bar{x} = 28.80$	$\bar{x} = 27.57$

H2 predicted that a cloud of suspicion would lower positive audience attitudes towards a sports hero's public image role as a person. That hypothesis was supported,  $F = 63.38 (1, 255), p < .001$  based on significant differences in means. Table 23 depicts the means for all four groups. The black athlete control group scored the highest mean for public image as a person whereas the lowest mean was scored by the white athlete treatment group.

Table 23

*Mean Scores for Public Image as a Person*

	Stimulus	
	No cloud of suspicion	Cloud of suspicion
Race		
White	$\bar{x} = 25.95$	$\bar{x} = 20.55$
Black	$\bar{x} = 26.31$	$\bar{x} = 22.06$

H3 predicted that a cloud of suspicion will diminish positive audience attitudes towards a sport hero's public image role as a citizen. That hypothesis was supported  $F = 154.40 (1, 255), p < .001$ . The differences in public image as a citizen means between the four groups are portrayed in Table 24. The control groups scored similar means at  $\bar{x}=28.42$  for the white athlete and  $\bar{x}=28.40$  for the black athlete. However, there was a larger difference in means between the white athlete groups than the black athlete groups, indicating that participants evaluating the accused white athlete were harsher in their evaluations than participants evaluating the accused black athlete.

Table 24

*Mean Scores for Public Image as a Citizen*

	Stimulus	
	No cloud of suspicion	Cloud of suspicion
Race		
White	$\bar{x} = 28.42$	$\bar{x} = 18.65$
Black	$\bar{x} = 28.40$	$\bar{x} = 20.94$

Lastly, H4, which predicted that a cloud of suspicion would detrimentally effect a sports hero's perceived endorsement value was supported  $F = 113.83 (1, 255), p < .001$ .

Table 25 shows how each experimental group responded numerically to the concept of endorsement value. The white and black athlete control groups scored higher means than their corresponding treatment groups.

Table 25

*Mean scores for Perceived Endorsement Value*

	Stimulus	
	No cloud of suspicion	Cloud of suspicion
Race		
White	$\bar{x} = 25.63$	$\bar{x} = 17.57$
Black	$\bar{x} = 26.14$	$\bar{x} = 20.49$

Factorial ANOVAs also indicated the effect of race on audience evaluations of the sports heroes, although the significance of its effect was not as clear as a cloud of suspicion.

*RACE*

RQ1a and RQ1b queried the effect that a cloud of suspicion would have on white and black sports heroes' respective public images as athletes. The effect of race was not statistically significant on public image as an athlete,  $F = 1.72 (1, 255)$ ,  $p = .192$ . Similarly, RQ2a and RQ2b questioned the effect of a cloud of suspicion on a white versus a black sports hero for public image as a person. The effect of race on public image as a person was not statistically significant,  $F = 2.29 (1, 255)$ ,  $p = .132$ . The effect of a cloud of suspicion on white and black sports heroes' public images as citizens was addressed in RQ3a and RQ3b. Again, the effect of race was not statistically significant,  $F = 2.69 (1, 255)$ ,  $p = .102$ . Lastly, RQ4a and RQ4b explored the effect of a cloud of suspicion on white and black sports heroes' perceived endorsement values. Race was statistically significant on endorsement value,  $F = 7.14 (1, 255)$ ,  $p < .01$ .

Even though a cloud of suspicion had a statistically significant effect on public image and endorsement value and race was statistically significant on endorsement value, the interaction of the two was not statistically significant on public image as an athlete, public image as a person, public image as a citizen, or endorsement value.

### *Study 2*

Twenty-seven American undergraduate students studying abroad in Australia served as participants in Study 2. They were dispersed over three separate discussion groups, each group containing nine participants. A range of issues related to alleged and confirmed steroid use among athletes in US professional and Olympic sports were identified by participants. The group discussions offered complementary elaborations to closed-ended questions asked in Study 1 for more thorough analysis and understanding. The discussion questions mirrored the operationalisation of concepts from Study 1, but also expanded on issues participants' viewed as related.

#### *Cloud of suspicion.*

H1 predicted a cloud of suspicion would have a detrimental effect on a sports hero's public image as an athlete. Whereas in Study 1 that hypothesis was supported, Study 2 results did not support the prediction. Instead, Study 2 participants agreed that even if using steroids, professional athletes still had the natural ability needed to progress to the professional sporting level. Arguably, prior media exposure to a sports hero influences belief in steroid allegations as the audience's perception of the athlete is multifaceted. For Roger Clemens and Miguel Tejada, the clouds of suspicion did not deter their credibility as sports heroes possessing natural talent and athletic skill. Therefore, H1 was disputed in Study 2.

The stereotypical and less known steroid effects were discussed, particularly in regards to Bonds. Expectedly, participants expressed assessing athletes' guilt by their

physical stature. Cited, and at times contradictory, indicators of steroid use included marshmallow-like muscles, shrunken testicles, a high-pitched voice, a deep voice, acne, an enlarged neck, bulgy veins and increased anger. For example, one participant described Bonds's head as enormous in size upon seeing him in close proximity. Bonds's physique continued to be of topic by another participant who noted that his physical muscle size has increased since the beginning of his career, an indicator to the participant of steroid use. In total three participants used the Bonds's increased head size as evidence of steroid use. Only one participant acknowledged that steroids have individual results and that not all steroid use is detectable to the eye. Clearly, the media is succeeding in perpetuating an exaggerated perception of the side effects of steroid use, but it is also succeeding in continuing the societal norms of an anti-doping stance.

While participants assumed an anti-doping stance, they were not uncompassionate towards the athletes' motivations to consume steroids. Groups two and three, in particular, were more sympathetic to athletes' using steroids simply in response to their colleagues already consuming steroids illegally and performing at a higher athletic performance level than group one. Notably, these two groups were dominated by participants competing in sport at the university level. However, within these two groups the non-athletes were adamant against steroid use, with one participant declaring, "There's no reason to be taking them", supported by another participant in the same group who used the players' lucrative salaries as reason against compassion towards steroid use. Unfortunately, while the athletes' natural talents are not questioned, the participant explained becoming "sceptical of [sports heroes] personal aspects". Reasonably, public images as athletes remain intact, but public images as people and citizens become vulnerable for sports heroes accused of steroid intake.

H2 predicted a cloud of suspicion would negatively impact a sports hero's public image as a person. The hypothesis was supported in Study 1, and that sentiment was echoed



in Study 2 through elaborate explanations. Based on participant discussion, the public deterrence towards cheating still exists. Participants indicated being angered and disappointed in Barry Bonds's use of illegal substances to succeed as it provided him with an unfair and immoral advantage in his athletic performance. Zero of the 27 participants approved of the acceptability of steroid use in professional or Olympic sports, yet the use of legal performance-enhancing supplements was contested because of the issue of health and the constantly evolving list of prohibited substances in sport. Because not all performance-enhancing supplements are illegal, participants were torn in their assessments of what was considered cheating. One participant firmly explained that disfavour to steroid would also create disfavour towards performance-enhancing supplements because it is the "same kind of conduct". Conversely, other participants were open to supplements to enhance healthy and recovery. Therefore, the labelling of a substance as banned served as a marker for participants' to evaluate the fairness of a supplement in competition.

Bonds and Mark McGwire were two sports heroes highlighted by all three groups for the disappointment participants experienced as a result of their steroid use. One participant remembered "being really upset when I found out [McGwire] was taking steroids", a sentiment echoed by other participants because of their young age at the time. Only one participant was aware of the legality surrounding McGwire's cloud of suspicion, questioning how sporting organisations can determine what supplements become allocated to the prohibited list. Overall, the role of the media has proven influential with McGwire being associated with steroid use even though the supplements he used, although illegal now, were legal at his time of consumption.

The confusion associated with legal versus illegal supplements as portrayed by the media also extended to the Mitchell Report. Of the 27 participants, six acknowledged being aware of the Mitchell Report, yet when one participant attempted to explain its purpose,

information from the Report and the Balco Investigation were used collectively. Granted, this participant expressed not being a MLB follower. However, when a self-declared baseball fan participant explained the Report's purpose in another group, he accurately portrayed the motivation behind the Report and the role of the Federal Government in its commission. The level of knowledge regarding the Mitchell Report highlights the significance of the media in the public's awareness to the apparent increase in steroid use. Regardless of the participants' status as fans, the issue of steroid use within professional and Olympic sport was acknowledged by participants as both topical and of importance to the public. Therefore, even without activity seeking out knowledge, audience awareness of steroid use and allegations was established as a result of media exposure.

Although the focus group discussions centred on the steroid use in baseball, participants did not limit discussion to this particular sport as not all participants were fans. Indeed, all participants had been exposed to at least one media presented steroid allegation pertaining to an athlete participating in an American sport, demonstrating the reach and impact of the media. While the majority of participants were not familiar with the Mitchell Report by name, there was an indication of exposure to the repercussions of the Report's claims. Those that were familiar with the Mitchell Report were aware of its assertions that players, including high profile names such as Barry Bonds, were affirmed steroid users. Even though Bonds's steroid allegations were not deliberately chosen for discussion in the focus groups given that they are considered confirmed, participants in all three groups mentioned his name in the discourse. As a result of media exposure even participants not familiar with baseball were familiar with Bonds and his steroid scandal.

Even though familiarity with the Mitchell Report was not unanimous, exposure to the media was. While one participant jokingly claimed, "Baseball's popular because of the movie *Sandlot*," he unwittingly revealed the extent of the media's breadth. Indeed, the media focus

on baseball, in particular, has affected the participants' perception of the extent of steroid use in the sport and the responsibility of the athletes to be role models, especially to youth fans. Each group discussion raised the issue of media influence and athlete influence on the youth. One participant expressed the danger of athletes using steroids in that younger fans may see the potential of steroids to make them more popular and stronger.

Lance Armstrong was another sports hero discussed in the second focus group in which the confusion as to his steroid use status was evident. Armstrong has never tested positive for a large enough amount of steroids to disqualify him from competition (Friedman, 1999), yet one participant claimed the allegations have been proven. More importantly, participants expressed neutrality towards Armstrong's allegations simply because he had overcome cancer before his athletic achievements. One participant in group two explained that Armstrong's defeat over cancer "was more important than the allegations of steroids". Another participant even dubbed Armstrong an example of an American hero. Ironically, media helped to squelch the previously broadcast media-generated steroid allegations against him. The Nike television advertisement in which Armstrong addressed the steroid allegations dissuaded participants from agreeing with the cloud of suspicion, weakening the allegations' momentum.

H3 predicted that a cloud of suspicion would detrimentally affect a sports hero's perceived endorsement value and was supported in Study 1. That hypothesis was also supported in the group discussions. Elements of public image as a citizen were discussed almost as a reflex action when considering the importance of baseball to America. Though not every participant identified with being a baseball fan, all 27 participants did indicate having attended a MLB game. When asked why they attend games, answers ranged from atmosphere to entertainment to seeing the players they admired in close proximity. More importantly, participants acknowledged the tradition of baseball as a motivator in attending

games as well as it contributing to the American identity as the national pastime. As the characteristics associated with baseball coincide with the American national identity (Gordon, 1964; Pope, 1997; Scheurer, 2005; Wenner, 1989b), arguably the sense of national pride was a prime motivator in engaging in sport spectatorship and participants' demand a sports hero who best represents their country. Indeed one participant expressed shame if a steroid using athlete were representing the US at the Olympics. As such, a cloud of suspicion negatively impacted participants' perceptions of the sports heroes' public images as citizens.

When asked if the media had the right to publicised steroid allegations, participants overall found the media publicity acceptable but detrimental to the athletes' public images as citizens. One participant justified the media's position in reporting the accusations because "fans look up to these people [athletes]"; therefore, the public has a right to be informed of the potential wrongdoing given the responsibility athletes have to be role models. Almost all participants engaged in competitive sports in high school and/or university. Based on their experiences, not only is steroid use of concern to young children, but also to high school and university athletes. It was agreed that steroid allegations negatively impact a sports hero's public image as a citizen because of his responsibility to serve as a role model.

Certainly the media rather than the athletes could be targeted as negatively influencing young athletes to consume steroids as it continually reports sports heroes under clouds of suspicion as allegations arise. Participants were asked about the responsibility of the media in reporting allegations and the perception of guilt for athletes in question. Two participants acknowledged their belief in the allegations if presented by the media. One participant explained, "Chances are yes they are using it". Yet all nine participants in group three acknowledged the difficulty in an effective approach to combating the steroid allegations. For instance, Clemens's adamant refute of the Mitchell Report's claims were used as evidence of guilt in the group discussions. However, even with allegations or steroid

confirmation, 20 of the participants agreed the public images as athletes for those in question would remain intact. That said, participants would not guarantee public images as citizens or people, or endorsement values would remain in moral and respectable standing.

H4 predicted a decrease in a sports hero's perceived endorsement value as a result of a cloud of suspicion. The hypothesis was supported in Study 1 but undecided among Study 2 participants. The American cultural demographic of the participants was evident when exploring the concept of endorsement value in relation to perceived guilt. One participant explained that an endorser should not be removed from a campaign based on allegations by making reference to the US legal system's approach of innocent until proven guilty. Another participant supported that argument by speculating a cloud of suspicion would not prevent consumers from purchasing the product the accused athlete is endorsing. In fact, another participant anticipated the media publicity athletes are receiving for the steroid allegations will simply enhance their endorsement values. Participants were taking into consideration previous positive media publicity a sports hero may have had which helped in establishing his endorsement value prior to the cloud of suspicion. In trying to speculate the seriousness of a cloud of suspicion in conjunction with fan identification of the two fictitious athletes, Study 2 results could not support H4 as clearly as Study 1 results.

Media coverage undoubtedly played a role in participants from all three groups in associating steroids with baseball and track-and-field, in particular. One participant questioned whether fans would be aware of steroid use if the media did not publicise the allegations. Another participant explained being a non-baseball fan yet was aware of allegations because of the media focus. This sentiment was furthered in the other group discussions where the morality of the media was challenged. One participant acknowledged the entertainment viewers experience from the media reporting the allegations. Yet another participant explained that the media did not take morality into consideration when "outing" a

celebrity for inappropriate behaviour, so it would not be different when “outing” an athlete. Even though the potential for an athlete’s public image and endorsement value to be ruined was discussed, the consensus in all groups was that the media reporting of steroid allegations is warranted.

## RACE

Corresponding with the results from Study 1, race was not viewed as a factor in participants’ evaluations of steroid allegations. Only one participant expressed a belief in black athletes being more likely to consume steroids than white athletes, but could not provide a rationale. Five participants out-rightly acknowledged belief in the athletic racial stereotype that black athletes are more naturally gifted than their white opponents. Of those five, one participant believed research had been conducted to prove blacks were inferior as swimmers because they did not care for water as a result of their buoyancy. Other participants in the group questioned the alleged research. However, when asked if they associated the quarterback position in American football with a white or a black athlete, all participants agreed on white. After initial discussion of discounting the credibility of the stereotype, all three groups had participants who acknowledged that some sports appeared to be black-dominated. Basketball and running were listed as examples.

Interestingly, all three groups concluded that cultural and economic factors were influential in the dominance of black athletes in particular sports rather than an athlete’s race. For example, one participant in group two suggested that black athletes are not prevalent in tennis because of the high cost and low-income communities typically being associated with black families. Instead, it was suggested that athletes in low-income communities participate in sports that require minimal cost for membership and equipment. Basketball was cited as an example of a low-cost sport.

The spectrum of participants' awareness of the media' role in fostering the racial athletic stereotype was flanked with one participant grounding each extremity. On one end was a complete lack of awareness to the stereotype and the other end was a completely informed awareness of the racial stereotype. The remaining 25 participants anchored varying locations along the spectrum according to knowledge of the issue. The one participant who was aware and informed about the racial stereotype was even able to legitimise the other participants' commentary by citing the movie *White men can't jump* as an example of the media propagating the stereotype. Ironically, this movie portrays basketball and low-income communities as black-dominated, issues presented by the other participants.

## Chapter 6

### *Discussion*



Study 1 revealed a cloud of suspicion to be detrimentally influential on a sports hero's perceived endorsement value and his public image as an athlete, as a person and as a citizen. The isolation of the cloud of suspicion variable forced treatment group participants to assess the fictitious athletes unfavourably after reading a newspaper article accusing the athletes of steroid use. This is logical considering person perception suggests that attitudes are formed after initial encounters (Fiske & Taylor, 2008). The significance of the cloud of suspicion stimulus supports person perception particularly when compared to the more subjective assessments of cloud of suspicion sports heroes discussed in Study 2 focus groups. Study 2 participants clearly demonstrated the influence of the media in forming attitudes about athletes with their sporadic compassion towards the accused athletes while maintaining their beliefs in the societal norm of anti-doping.

### *Cloud of Suspicion*

The influence of a cloud of suspicion on consumers is clear with participants demonstrating negative reactions to athletes accused of steroid use. Participants who did not receive the cloud of suspicion stimulus were significantly harsher in their levels of agreement to the athletes' public image roles and perceived endorsement values those who did. These results are valuable for endorser selection and extend previously completed qualitative research from New Zealand (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005) and Britain (Erdogan & Baker, 1999; Erdogan et al., 2001; Erdogan & Kitchen, 1998). In their 2005 study, Charbonneau and Garland revealed that New Zealand advertising practitioners emphasised choosing endorsers with minimal negative media exposure risks. This is logical when considering Till and Shimp's (1998) argument that consumers associate the endorser with the product and/or brand being endorsed. The appeal of using celebrity endorsers is tempting given the free publicity generated from media exposure (Segers, 1992, as cited in Van Hoecke et al., 2000). One

participant in the focus groups identified the potential positive outcome of clouds of suspicion in that “it’s only making them [athletes under clouds of suspicion] more well-known”. Overall this positive result was not defended in the focus groups discussion. Clearly, having negative information associated with an endorser is viewed as potentially detrimental by practitioners (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005; Till, 2001; Till & Shimp, 1998), with consumers justifying their fears. A cloud of suspicion can be considered negative information and therefore is detrimental to the endorser, the brand and the advertising practitioner.

*Public image as an athlete.*

Not surprisingly, participants in the treatment groups for Study 1 were less supportive of a sports hero under steroid accusations than were participants in the control groups. Only one of the participants outrightly admitted to steroid use for athletic gains. Therefore, participant sympathy because of similar drug use was not an influence in the difference of means. Yet Study 2 participants, who were largely university athletes, were more sympathetic to professional athletes consuming steroids simply as a means of remaining competitive against their cheating counterparts. Study 2 participants, similar to those in Study 1, did not admit to steroid use for enhanced athletic performance. Social desirability potentially prevented participants from being forthcoming of their steroid use, but as the surveys were completely anonymous and confidential, truthful participant responses are assumed.

In addition to steroid use, frequency of drug use was also examined as a potential participant influence in assessing a sports hero under a cloud of suspicion. In Study 1, 22% of participants admitted to illicit drug use, consistent with the 22% of Australian 14 – 19 year olds in 2004 (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2005). Admittedly, the study was inclusive of international students, but was largely dominated by domestic Australian students who comprise the majority of the university’s population. Moreover, the survey was

administered in a required course designed to me taken by first semester students. Although the age of participants was not asked, presumably the majority of participants are categorised as under 19 years old given the intended introductory nature of the course. Therefore, the 22% admission to drug use corresponds to the national statistic.

For ethical reasons concerning anonymity, Study 2 participants were not asked about their drug or steroid use behaviour. However, the demographics of participants in Study 1 and Study 2 are similar in terms of age and the prohibition of drug use in Australia and the US. Arguably, the existence of illicit drug users in Study 1 and Study 2 is comparable. Of the Study 1 participants that admitted to drug use, 79% indicated a preference for soft drugs (i.e. cannabis). When considering this preference along with Study 2 participants' hesitations in classifying steroids in the same category as hard drugs, the perception of steroid use side effects align more fittingly with the side effects of soft drugs rather than hard drugs. Indeed, Study 2 participants did not believe punishment for steroid use should be equivalent to hard drug use. One participant offered the explanation, "I just see that heroin is so much more of a problem than steroids and I don't think the penalty of steroids should be equivalent to the penalty of heroine. I have never heard the story of somebody overdosing on steroids". This, again, highlights the influence of the media in the public's understanding of steroid effects.

When considering the hesitancy of participants to align steroid use with hard drugs, it is understandable why Former US President George W. Bush's decision to include steroids a drug targeted in the War on Drugs is a contentious issue. The political motivation in assigning steroid use, particularly in professional baseball, to the War on Drugs cannot be overlooked when considering Bush acknowledged the importance of baseball in America's healing process after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks (Cunningham, 2002, September 12). Although the inclusion of steroids was controversial, Butterworth (2008) argued Bush acknowledged the importance of baseball in the American national identity by using the need

to protect the sport from corruption as a metaphor for protecting the country as a whole from terrorists. The identified significance of baseball in national ideology is not surprising considering the common use of sporting jargon in everyday vocabulary (Morgan, 2007). Clearly, inclusion of steroids in the War on Drugs is, at least in part, politically rooted.

Granted, the drug campaign attempts to deter drug use among professional athletes and eventually among youth, but in doing so, groups steroids in the same category as hard drugs. Levinson (2008) argued the term 'War on Drugs' oversimplifies the complexity of the drug use problem by suggesting drugs can be divided into good and safe drugs or bad and dangerous. Study 2 participants clearly had adopted the categorical division of drugs as they struggled with associating steroids with hard drugs. Instead, participants associated steroid use with enlarged muscles and hard drug use with death. Therefore even the perceived responsibility of athletes to behave as role models was not reason enough to elevate the severity of steroid use with that of hard drugs. Because media portrayal commonly associates steroid use with side effects that are not life-threatening, Study 2 participants were uncomfortable with the potential legal consequence of steroid use being equivalent to hard drug use. One participant suggested steroid users should be "fined heavily and they should be put on probation or have a season off", a punishment that directly affects their careers as athletes given that the steroid consumption was an attempt to dishonestly heighten their athletic abilities.

The hesitancy in applying legal consequences to steroid use exemplifies two issues. Firstly, the dangers of steroid use are not associated with serious medical risks. Instead, steroids are perceived as a means of exceeding in a highly competitive and athletically superior environment. Secondly, even with a cloud of suspicion, focus group participants have confidence in sports heroes' talents as athletes. Even though a cloud of suspicion was found to detrimentally affect evaluations of a sports hero's public image as an athlete in

Study 1, the significance of the effect of a cloud of suspicion was not as strong as it was on the citizenship and personal attributes on public image. This suggests that previous positive media exposure has the ability to counteract weak steroid allegations. Perhaps fan identification and the requirement for athletes to be physically fit pardons participants' disappointment in the sports heroes' public images as athletes to a certain degree.

The nonchalant regard for the medical dangers associated with steroid use was exemplified by a participant disagreeing with professional athletes using because of their role model responsibilities, but advocating steroid use among the public. Unexpectedly, the participant suggested eliminating all opportunities for professional athletes to purchase steroids but allowing non-professional athletes to use substances because of the participant's belief that steroids are not deadly. Apparently, the existence of a banned substances list within a sporting organisation does not comply with the participant's stricter approach of discouraging cheating within sport. In other words, athletes should not even have the opportunity to purchase steroids because it demonstrates inappropriate cheating behaviour, yet the common non-professional athlete should be permitted to purchase illegal substances because the danger in the side effects is minimal. Perhaps what is so worrisome about the participant's comment was the disregard for the medical dangers associated with steroid use. The misperception that steroids offer only mild side effects completely discounts its potentially lethal consequence (Staudohar, 2005); give the powerful influence of celebrities on youth (Atkin & Block, 1983), certainly attention to this fallacy is warranted.

Stereotypically mild side effects were identified by participants in Study 2 when asked how it is possible to visually detect an athlete who is a steroid user. Unsurprisingly, participants in all three group discussions made reference to enlarged muscles and increased levels of aggression as indicators of steroid use. It is common for the public to self-confirm contentions of steroid use in cloud of suspicion athletes simply based on the athletes'

increased muscle size (Staudohar, 2005). Head size was also discussed in relation to Barry Bonds by participants who had seen him in close proximity. This, too, is a common visual indicator that persuades members of the public to believe a cloud of suspicion (Staudohar, 2005). While participants identified the typical markers for identifying steroid use, in fact, not all steroids have extreme side effects which allow for visual identification (Denham, 2000). As the general physique of athletes as evolved in the perception level of acceptable defined muscularity (Denham, 2007), steroid users are difficult to identify simply using visual confirmation.

Certainly, some sports are more commonly associated with steroid use based on the physique of its athletes. The culturally defined ideal physique has evolved as a result of the perceived increased use of steroids within professional and Olympic sport (Burke & Roberts, 1997). While the contemporary ideal remains a muscularly defined body, the public unfavourably views an overly muscular body in which the use of illegal substances is transparent (Burke & Roberts, 1997). For example, the exaggerated muscularity of wrestlers' bodies contradicts the perceived norm of an athlete.

In the professional wrestling arena there is an association with the sport's athletes and steroids (Farhi, 2007, September 1). Indeed, since 1997 the media has inferred steroid use as a contributor to the deaths of at least six professional wrestlers ("'Roid rage' questions surround Benoit murder-suicide," 2007, June 29; Wrestling deaths and steroids," 2004, March 12). Perhaps more startling are the more than five dozen deaths of professional wrestlers from the World Wrestling Entertainment (WWE) who died before the age of 50 (Assael, 2009, April 13). Denham (2004) questions the responsibility of reporters in linking anabolic steroid use to death because they lack the use of credible sources in justifying the connection. For the audience, the frequent association between wrestling and steroids

presented by the media is absorbed, but the media's intermittent focus on the lethal capabilities of steroids is not sufficiently grasped.

Notably, no participants identified death as a possible side effect of steroid use. In 2007 professional wrestler Chris Benoit was found dead in his home, a speculated suicide after murdering his wife and son ("'Roid rage' questions surround Benoit murder-suicide," 2007, June 29). Toxicology reports revealed Benoit had steroids, in addition to a number of other substances, in his system at the time of his death ("Steroids discovered in probe of slayings, suicide," 2007, June 27). Even though reports were inconclusive on the role of steroids in the murder-suicide (Associated Press, 2009b), the media focus and speculation on the ability of steroids to induce the user to such a level of aggravation that would motivate him to kill is irresponsible and simply adds to the media-generated misconception of exaggerated steroid side-effects.

Though participants in both studies clearly indicated an unfavourable disposition towards steroid use, focus group participants were united in their agreement that steroid allegations need to be assessed on a case-by-case basis. For example, participants in group two from Study 2 was unanimous in their belief that Lance Armstrong has never consumed steroids. However, they offered an interesting justification in that for this particular sports hero, his accomplishments as an athlete after having overcome cancer were more important than the possibility of him using steroids. This example demonstrates how an effective advertising campaign can counteract a cloud of suspicion and maintain the sports hero's public image as an athlete.

Nike's decision to furnish Armstrong with a television commercial as a platform to refute steroid allegations (see Figure 36) was effective for the focus group participants. Nike almost satirises Armstrong's cloud of suspicion by depicting him with a needle in his arm before revealing the needle only serves the purpose of taking his blood for testing. British

advertising managers emphasised that a celebrity alone cannot lead to a successful advertising campaign (Erdogan & Baker, 1999; Erdogan et al., 2001), a point Nike considered in that it individualised the television commercials to emphasise Armstrong's popular public image elements. One participant, in particular, found the commercial to be successful because it targeted the qualities pertaining to public image as an athlete, such as hard-work and time-consuming physical training. It is not surprising that the focus groups were favourable to a commercial explaining the requirements of being a successful athlete when taking into account the number of university-level athletes in the focus groups who identify with these attributes.

Although Study 2 participants did acknowledge the intense physical demands of being a professional athlete as motivators in choosing to consume steroids, they refused to concede that consuming illegal performance-enhancing supplements was acceptable. However, one participant offered medicinal purposes as an acceptable exception to the steroid ban. This waver in the staunch opposition to steroids was evident in Study 1 as well, with 67% of participants agreeing that steroid use should be sold or used strictly for medicinal purposes, yet this was the most lenient stance in which participants in which participants were willing to agree.



Figure 36

*Nike's Television Featuring Armstrong Alludes to and Mocks his Steroid Allegations by Depicting him with a Needle in his Arm*



Note: (YouTube, 2009a)

Countering the support for the sports heroes' athletic skills in Study 2 is the finding from of Study 1 indicates a cloud of suspicion sports hero's public image as an athlete is affected by a cloud of suspicion. When analysing the differences in results from Study 1 and Study 2 regarding public image as an athlete, the influence of the media and the person perception process cannot be discounted. All of the Study 2 participants had been exposed to Armstrong's public image as an athlete, public image as a person or public image as a citizen through a media vessel. Therefore, all participants had established Armstrong as a sports hero prior to hearing of any steroid allegations against him. According to person perception, impressions are formed at initial encounters (Fiske & Taylor, 2008) and processes occur almost automatically with a lack of conscious awareness (Moskowitz, 2005). No more clearly is the automaticity of perception demonstrated than in Study 1 where the negative evaluation of the fictional sports heroes by treatment group participants was the result of a cloud of

suspicion stimulus. With no prior exposure to the athletes, perceptions were processed using the foil newspaper article which created a negative initial encounter with the athletes.

However, Study 2 participants had positive initial encounters with Armstrong to counteract the detrimental impact of steroid allegations. Therefore, a cloud of suspicion does not necessarily discount the natural talent an established sports hero must possess in order to compete at the professional or Olympic level as long as previous media exposure had been positive.

Roger Clemens is another sports hero under a cloud of suspicion who attempted to use the media to counteract the allegations, yet his media appearance has not proven as successful as Armstrong's commercial. Clemens granted a television interview with the news program 60 Minutes. Yet the interview paled in comparison to Armstrong's Nike commercial in its ability to persuasively refute the allegations. When a portion of this interview was shown in Study 2, participants were torn over their perceptions of his culpability. It was clear that Clemens's behaviour and body language could be interpreted as evidence of innocence or guilt. Perhaps the lack of a brand supporting Clemens in his crusade to clear his name was disadvantageous. Armstrong was sponsored by Nike, a largely successful and popular brand. In fact, 61% of participants from Study 1 indicated having positive attitudes to Nike products. It is even a brand identified as familiar to eight to 12 year old children (Pechaux & Derbaix, 1999). According to Till and Shimp's (1998) claims that consumers associate endorsers and brands with each other, the positive feelings projected to the Nike brand could have transferred to consumer evaluations of Armstrong.

With that in mind, it is possible that Study 1 participants also transferred their positive Nike feelings onto the fictional athletes. For instance, Till (2001) determined that endorsing a socially negatively viewed product lowers consumers' evaluations of the endorser. Presumably, endorsing a positively viewed product or brand, such as Nike, will heightened

consumer evaluations of the endorser. Nike uses its endorser athletes to visually represent the heroic and admirable qualities associated with the brand in globally effective advertising campaigns (Nike, 2007; Stevens et al., 2003). Before the steroid allegations Armstrong and Nike had forged a solid relationship as endorser and brand. According to Till and Shimp (1998), negative media publicity surrounding an endorser is not as detrimental to the brand if the endorser is the established face of the brand. Therefore, addressing the allegations jointly with Armstrong decreased the potential backlash from the cloud of suspicion on consumer evaluations and sales and demonstrated the impact of a cloud of suspicion on public image can be intercepted.

Using a less popular or a fictional brand in Study 1 as a replacement could have lowered participants' evaluation scores of the athletes. Certainly, Nike's popularity would not have significantly heightened evaluations considerably as a forge between the athletes and the brand had not been established (Till, 2001; Till & Shimp, 1998) given the sports heroes' fictional status. Even so, the difference in mean scores does not necessarily affect the significance of independent variables on dependent variables if the effect remains consistent throughout both control and treatment groups. Moreover, using a less popular brand would have compromised the perceived authenticity of the alleged potential advertising campaign set to involve the said athletes. As the significance of a cloud of suspicion has been established, it is evident that the positive feelings treatment group participants had for the Nike brand did not transfer to their evaluations of the fictitious athletes, thereby exhibiting the societal norm to condemn steroid use within sport (Burke & Roberts, 1997; Denham, 2000, 2007; Morgan, 2007; Staudohar, 2005).

The IOC currently exempts steroid use for therapeutic reasons on documented medical conditions (The International Olympic Committee, 2008). Hoffer (2006) highlighted the high-risk of injury in professional sports, enlightening fans of the lucrative nature of

athletes' salaries, but also identifying the potential for a condensed career of earnings. One professional basketball player explained, "You can be the most talented guy in the league, but if you can't stay on the court, you're not going to make it" (Hoffer, 2006, ¶ 24). While Lane (1996) asserted that the most financially compensated athletes earn the majority of their income from lucrative salaries, Hoffer (2006) suggested that endorsement value is of little concern to the average athlete. Granted, the average professional athlete earns considerably more than the average American, who earns between US\$49,568 and US\$50,233 (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2008), but the elevated salary corroborates with the public's elevated perception of professional athletes (Goodman et al., 2002; Jones & Schumann, 2000; Rollin, 1983; Stevens et al., 2003). One explanation for the prevalence of steroid use in sport may be the desire to remain physically fit, an element of public image as an athlete, in order to earn an income from sport. It is the elevation of an athlete to sports hero status that will attract sponsors but that will also publicise his cloud of suspicion. Arguably, it is the sports heroes using steroids that are more worrisome than the average player because of the ability of a sports hero to generate an international fan-following (Van Hoecke et al., 2000) and negatively influence a young audience (Atkin & Block, 1983) by their unfair sporting behaviour.

There seems to be a contradiction in the perception of sports heroes. On the one hand, fans consider sports heroes to be almost immortal because of their extraordinary skills (Jones & Schumann, 2000); sports heroes represent a contemporary amalgamation of Greek warriors and Roman gladiators given the blend of battle for entertainment. On the other hand, when sports heroes are placed under a cloud of suspicion, thereby demonstrating their fallibilities, their public images as athletes are not questioned. Participants in Study 1 supported the hypothesis that a sports hero under a cloud of suspicion would have a detrimentally affected public image as an athlete, yet this sentiment was countered by participants in Study 2. One

participant touched on the foundation of the term sports hero and inadvertently integrated it with public image as an athlete by explaining that athletes accused of steroids as reported by the media “obviously have some merits behind them...they have done something well” to garner the media attention. Unfortunately, while the athletes’ natural talents are not questioned, the participant became “sceptical of [sports heroes] personal aspects”. Reasonably, public images as athletes remain intact, but public images as people and citizens become vulnerable for sports heroes accused of steroid intake.

Confidence in sports heroes’ athletic abilities was confirmed even more recently in a 2008 Gallup poll (Associated Press, 2008, February 27). According to the survey, 62% of respondents believe Roger Clemens should be elected into baseball’s Hall of Fame even though 57% of respondents believe he is lying when denying the steroid allegations (Associated Press, 2008, February 27). While his personal public image is tarnished, his athletic public image remains intact, corroborating with the results from Study 2.

Exposure to sports heroes though media portrayal results in a cultivated fan-following for the athletes. Study 2 participants’ familiarity with Clemens proved influential in their discussions refuting the steroid allegations question is athletic ability. Overall, focus group participants agreed that Clemens is still credible in his skills as an athlete, yet this differs from the results in Study 1. The support of H1 indicates participants’ evaluations of public images as athletes of the sports heroes under clouds of suspicion were detrimentally impacted. Therefore, the credibility of the accused sports heroes’ skills was questioned. Fan identification and nationalities may account for these differences. The participants from Study 1 were presented with fictional athletes, thereby eliminating the prospective of fan identification. Given that the study was conducted at an Australian university, the majority of participants would not have been from the US. Therefore, national pride with the presented sports heroes would have been minimal. This contrasts from the Study 2 participants, all of

which were Americans, and who were presented with actual athletes participating in US professional sports. Moreover, Clemens, the first accused sports hero discussed, had professional career that spanned 23 years (MLB Advanced Media, 2001-2009c) with four teams (Sports Reference, 2000-2009). Moreover, he won the most coveted award for a pitcher seven times (Baseball Almanac, 2000-2008) and was fan-elected to the All-Star game six times (MLB Advanced Media, 2001-2009a). With this in mind, it is likely for participants to have been familiar with him as an athlete, and to have been his fans.

Yet his athletic abilities may not enough to maintain his endorsement contracts. Sweet (2007, December 26) guaranteed Clemens would lose endorsement contracts and scheduled speaking appearances. In an attempt to salvage his public image, Clemens has used televised media to vehemently deny any wrongdoing (Sweet, 2007, December 26; YouTube, 2008f). Yet after viewing on such televised interview, focus group participants were unsure of the success in Clemens's outspoken approach to refute the allegations, suggesting he seemed defensive and anxious. Sanderson (2008) elaborated on the doubt expressed in the focus groups by suggesting that Clemens's media strategy has actually further damaged to his public image rather than repairing it. While the consequences of the steroid allegations are apparent at the moment, they have potential for long-term negative effects, as well.

*Public image as a person.*

The ultimate aim of sport is to educate young athletes in the integrity and spirit of sportsmanship (Teetzel, 2007) thereby ensuring that the public images as people of future sports heroes remain positive. Yet even knowing that doping degrades the spirit of sport (Tamburrini, 2007) and the importance of sports heroes in setting positive examples for the youth, focus group discussions did reveal a degree of sympathy towards sports heroes under clouds of suspicion for a couple of reasons. Firstly, participants acknowledged the difficulty

accused sports heroes would face in their efforts to clear their names, particularly with guilt already established in the court of public opinion through media presentation of the steroid allegations. For instance, one participant sympathised with Roger Clemens's attempt to redeem his public image by participating in an interview to counter the steroid claims and acknowledged how frustrating accusations would be after a career marked by achievements. Yet, overall participants agreed that when the media reports steroid allegations, they believe there is some degree of truth serving as a catalyst to prompt the cloud of suspicion.

Secondly, participants were compassionate to athletes who hailed from impoverished communities and who used steroids as a means of providing a more financially stable life for their families. In essence, it is as if the American participants understood athletes' attempts to achieve the 'American dream'. But keeping with the characteristics of the national identity, participants were only sympathetic up to a point given the high-income bracket status of professional leagues minimum salaries. In MLB, the minimum yearly salary is US\$390,000 (Major League Baseball Players Association, 2009), with the average yearly salary at a near US\$3 million (Hoffer, 2006; Major League Baseball Players Association, 2009).

Comparably, the lowest base rate paid by the NBA is US\$ 442,114 ("Minimum NBA salary," 2005, August 10) and the average player earning US\$5 million (Hoffer, 2006). With the lucrative nature associated with sport as a profession, athletes using illegal performance-enhancers as a means of securing bonuses for enhanced athletic performance or profitable endorsement contracts are viewed unfavourably.

The awareness of steroid degradation of fan spectatorship was acknowledged in group discussions, suggesting a cloud of suspicion has effects of athletes and fans alike. One participant explained that to pay to attend a professional sporting event in which the participating athletes are consuming steroids, "Then it's a drug that you're paying for, you're not paying for the player himself". Perhaps the public's aversion to cheating (Staudohar,

2005) is the result of an athlete undermining the integrity of sport (Tamburrini, 2007) and his personal morals. Therefore, the fans no longer can admire the sports heroes for public image qualities such as honestly, morality or goodness.

In addition to the moral qualities of sports heroes, the attractiveness of the athletes' lifestyles were measured in Study 1 as an element of sports heroes' public images as people. Presumably, because of the difference in a professional athlete's salary compared to an average citizen's salary, a sports hero's lifestyle would be perceived favourably. For example, the average MLB player's salary is almost US\$3 million (Major League Baseball Players Association, 2009) compared to the average American's income at about US\$49,900 (DeNavas-Walt et al., 2008). Note that the listed average player salary does not include financial compensation for endorsement contracts. Focus groups did discuss that the lucrative nature of athletes' salaries should be deterrents to steroid use. However, when considering that the most successful sports heroes earn the majority of their incomes from endorsement contracts (Lane, 1996), it is not surprising that athletes use steroids to advance athletically and financially. The frustration expressed within Study 2 participants with cheating athletes to enhance the attractiveness of an already comfortable lifestyle is understandable.

Yet not all steroid consumption is generated by a desire for money. One participant in Study 2, a self-declared university athlete, understood the desire to succeed because of a love for the game. For example, Jeff Posey, a professional football player, explained that "you have to enjoy this game, you have to love to play this game" (Hoffer, 2006, ¶ 19) in order to survive year after year rather than succumbing to the desire for large financial gains. In regards to sport one participant accepted that if "it's all you care about, you just want to be better, I don't think it's a money thing". Yet another participant suggested that players in the MLB were almost forced to use steroids in order to be competitive. Denham (2000, 2007) agreed that once a level of performance has been established, even as a result of performance-



enhancers, it is impossible to erase and becomes the standard to achieve. The desire to constantly achieve against opponents could be a motivator for athletes to consume steroids, and in turn, lead others to question a sports hero's willingness to consume steroids. With this in mind, public images as athletes and public images as people are almost at odds; in order for the athletes to remain physically competitive they must sacrifice personal morals. Unfortunately, the admirable personal characteristics of a sports hero appear to be the more influential elements of public image in generating fan support.

The steroid accusations surrounding Barry Bonds and Mark McGwire exemplify the importance of a favourable public image as a person over a public image as an athlete in positively representing sport. For example, the ultimate achievement of being elected into the Baseball Hall of Fame cannot be secured through athletic skill alone. Voters, who are ten-year members of the Baseball Writers Association of America, are instructed to "look beyond the statistics and examine a player's character, integrity and sportsmanship... [his] overall contribution to the game" (Van Dyck, 2009, February 18, ¶ 3). Ironically, the same writers who publicise the steroid allegations and create a cloud of suspicion around a sports hero may be the determinants of the athlete's Hall of Fame fate.

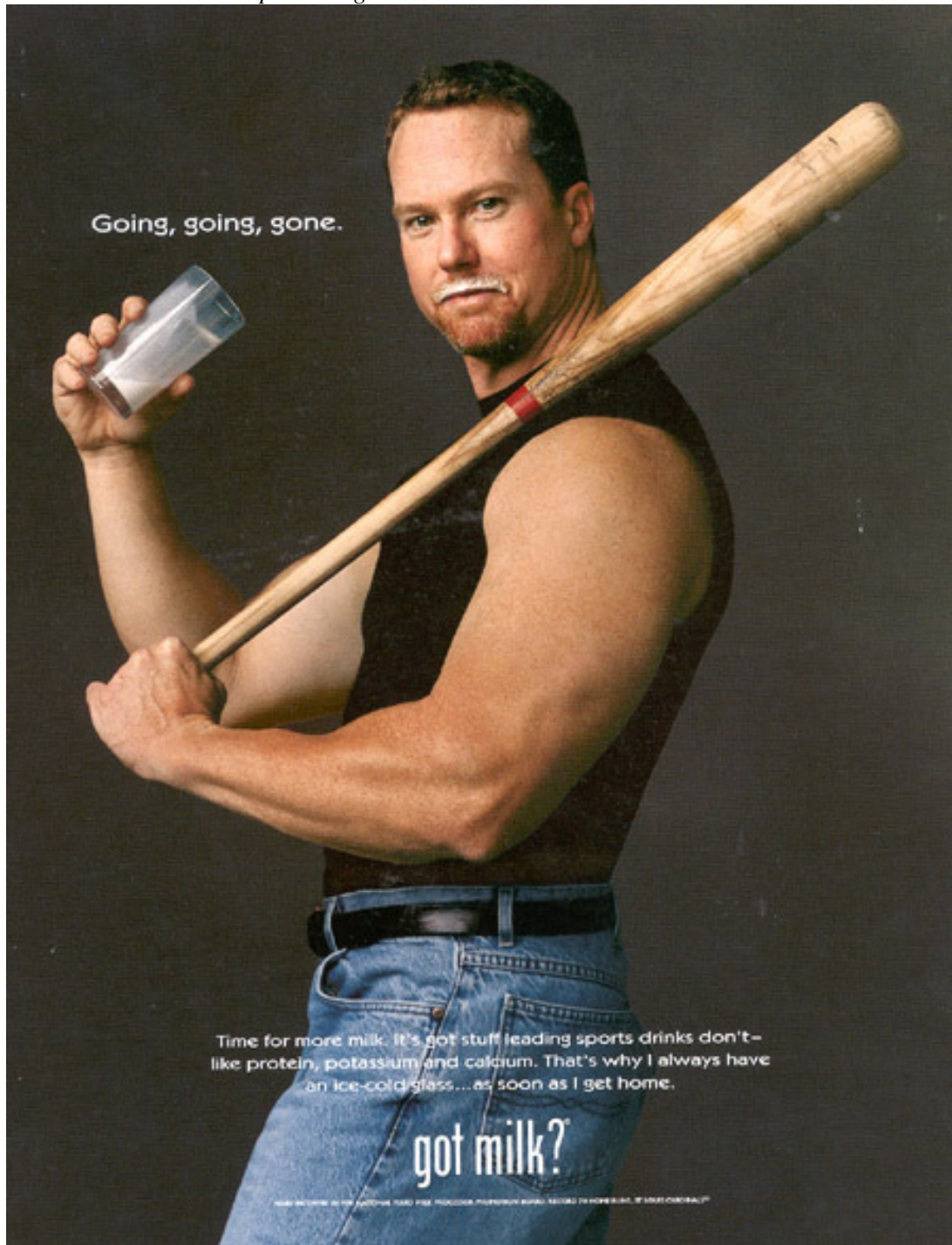
Hall of Fame President Jeff Idelson acknowledges the subjectivity of the election process in evaluating a nominee's qualities, but stands by its integrity (Van Dyck, 2009, February 18). The effect of a cloud of suspicion on Hall of Fame status is still under construction, though Mark McGwire has been refused entry three times (Van Dyck, 2009, February 18) without there ever being affirmation to the legitimacy of his cloud of suspicion. Although Bird and Wagner (1997) explained punishment for steroid use in professional sport cannot be retroactive if the substance was in uncertain status, McGwire's admission to legal performance-enhancers appears to come with a consequence now that those supplements are prohibited. Perhaps the election committees for McGwire's nominations have taken his

silence when asked if he used steroids at a 2005 Congress hearing as a non-verbal confession (Sheinin, 2005, March 18). Even so, while steroid punishment legally cannot be retroactive, socially the punishment is clear.

The long-term effects of a cloud of suspicion on admittance into the Baseball Hall of Fame remain unknown. For Mark McGwire, the effects appear more significant than the effects at the time he was accused of steroid use. Although he was nominated, McGwire was rejected as a designated baseball legend in the Hall of Fame (Sheinin, 2005, March 18), even though the performance-enhancers he has admitted to using were legal at the time of consumption. This rejection differs from his public perception after breaking the single season homerun record. In fact, his popularity in 1998 was such that one endorsement contract he received was for a milk sponsorship highlighting his athletic achievement (see Figure 37). The print advertisement passively addresses McGwire's cloud of suspicion and use of legal supplements as milk is marketed as an almost legal performance-enhancing supplement. Similar to Armstrong's address of his cloud of suspicion through a Nike commercial, McGwire's milk advertisement subtly refutes allegations by emphasising his consumption on the healthy, legal nutrients in milk.

Figure 37

*McGwire's Popularity as a Sports Hero and his Positive Public Image Earned him an Endorsement Contract Sponsoring Milk*



The sponsorship of a positively perceived product should have countered the negative impact of steroid allegations on McGwire's public image. Previous research has focused on

consumer evaluations of endorsers. Therefore, while McGwire may be popular with consumers, the public does not serve on the electorate committee for the Hall of Fame. Instead, it is the media who publishes a cloud of suspicion, and media members who determine the legendary fate of baseball sports heroes as Hall of Fame inductees.

Perhaps the electoral committee is using the Hall of Fame as a platform to discourage steroid use. Study 2 would view the movement as appropriate as participants agreed that the task of denouncing steroid use lies with sporting organisations and their athletes. One participant declared, “It should be up to the sporting areas to take care of [steroid regulation]” because athletes have a responsibility to serve the public as role models.

The embracement of McGwire by fans during and after his pursuit to break the single season homerun record differs starkly from the reception Bonds’s received after breaking his homerun record in the midst of a cloud of suspicion. During his quest to break the all-time homerun record, Bonds was booed by fans everywhere he played except at his home stadium in San Francisco (Schmidt, 2009, February 11). A *New York Times* newspaper article, in both digital and hard copy, demonstrates the fan aversion to Bonds. In the digital version of the article, the corresponding photograph (see Figure 38) depicts a fan’s unfavourable disposition towards Bonds with the heckling phrase “boo” and Bonds’s number silkscreened onto the fan’s shirt (Quinn, 2007a, July 21). This hostile position is replicated in the hard copy form of the article with a different picture (see Figure 39), but similar disapproving attitude in which a fan is holding a sign suggesting Bonds is attempting to break the homerun record dishonestly and unfairly by using steroids (Quinn, 2007b, July 21). Even with this public condemnation, a detriment to his public image as a person and citizen as reflected in his lack of endorsement contracts (Janoff, 2006), Bonds’s public image as an athlete appears to remain intact.

Figure 38

*A Fan's Hostile Jeer at Bonds Reflects the Negative Effect a Steroids Scandal has had on Bonds's Public Image as a Person*



(Quinn, 2007a, July 21)

Figure 39

*A Fan's Sign Suggests Bonds's Homerun Record is Illegitimate as a result of Using Illegal Performance-Enhancing Supplements and that Hank Aaron's Preceding Record Should Stand*

NATIONAL 30

## BASEBALL

# JURY'S IN ON BONDS

### Feds eye Fall indictment

**BY T.J. QUINN**  
DAILY NEWS SPORTS WRITER

THE GRAND JURY investigating Barry Bonds has been extended for another six months, several sources familiar with the government's case told the Daily News, and the U.S. Attorney's office in San Francisco is confident it will have enough evidence to secure an indictment once it resumes in September.

"They seem to feel they have a strong case," said one source, speaking on the condition of anonymity.

Another source said he believed prosecutors could secure an indictment if they sought one now, but that they would rather take the additional six months to strengthen it. The grand jurors have not met for at least three weeks and have been instructed that they will not reconvene until September. Bonds is being investigated for perjury and tax evasion.

"If the case is 90% now, there's no reason not to go for 100%," the source said. "They aren't just waiting around for Greg Anderson."

The U.S. Attorney's office would not comment, with officials saying they legally cannot confirm or deny the existence of a sitting grand jury.

There had been widespread speculation that federal prosecutors would seek an extension while they handle several other matters related to the case — Bonds is not their only target in the investigation — and while Anderson, Bonds' former trainer, remains in prison for refusing to testify.

Sources familiar with the government's investigation said the grand jury's term was extended before jurors were scheduled to meet Thursday.

That means Bonds probably will be able to catch and pass Hank Aaron's record of 755 career home runs without being under

indictment. Before last night's game against the Brewers in Milwaukee, Bonds had 753.

"I think politically it would look terrible if they indicted him when he was one or two home runs away from breaking the record," one attorney with knowledge of the government's case said. "I think they'll let him break the record but I'd be very surprised if they don't indict."

The decision to seek an indictment will not be left solely up to the prosecutors who have directed the case, however.

Experts believe the decision will be made by U.S. Dept. of Justice because the case has such a high profile. Scott Schools, the acting U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of California said he does not want the job perks and sources have said former U.S. Attorney Joseph Russoniello will be appointed to his old position when a lengthy ground check is complete.

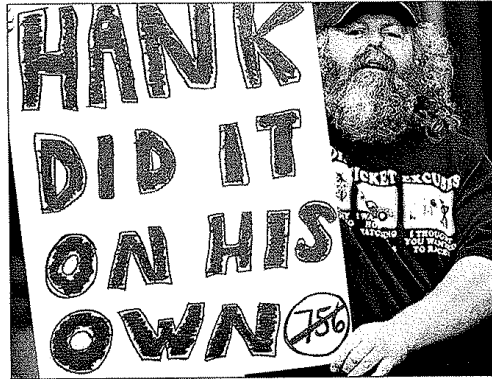
Bonds was called before the BALCO grand jury in 2003, and he testified that he had taken drugs identified as steroids, but did not know what they were at the time. Part of his testimony was heard by a Daily News reporter, a full extent of it was reported a year later in the San Francisco Chronicle.

Prosecutors opened a perjury investigation into Bonds, believing that he knew what he was taking.

Bonds' former girlfriend, Kimberley, also testified that he had given her \$1 million in cash from memorabilia sales, that may not have been declared. Bonds' attorney, Michael Rains, has said he does not believe the government will indict, but he has also conceded it might choose to. A year ago, when Bonds' first jury was due to expire, Rains told the government to expect an indictment, but the government moved to have its investigation into Bonds and other BALCO-related defendants moved to another grand jury that was set to expire this month.

Major League Baseball source said they believe that if Bonds is indicted, Commissioner Bud Selig will suspend him. Selig will suspend Bonds if he is found guilty of perjury.

MLB sources concede they would likely lose a grievance before an arbitrator but that Selig wants to force the union to defend a player known to have used steroids, whether he knew what he was taking or not.



While Barry Bonds has chance to set all-time homerun record this weekend in Milwaukee, this Brewer fan lets Giants' slugger know that he's in Hank Aaron's town. Photo by AP

(Quinn, 2007b, July 21)

Granted, there is an asterisk next to his name as the all-time homerun record to denoting an unfairly accomplished feat due to his unbeknownst steroid use (Nizza, 2007, September 26). If the fans were the voters for the Hall of Fame inductees, that asterisk would prove insignificant. Even knowing that Bonds consumed steroids, 58% of respondents for the ABC News/ESPN survey (2007, May 6) expressed support for Bonds being admitted into the Baseball Hall of Fame, although the majority of respondents hoped he would have failed at breaking the homerun record. Again, public image as an athlete remains intact while public image as citizen and public image as a person were damaged as a result of steroids. The effect of the asterisk on Bonds's status as an official baseball legend may never come to fruition as

Bonds has publicly declared his boycott over the Hall of Fame because of his asterisk branding (Fitzpatrick, 2007, November 2). Nevertheless, even without the asterisk Bonds's prickly disposition (Milner, 2004, December 14) and negatively perceived public image as a person (Henry, 2006) may prove motivation enough to exclude him as a Hall of Fame inductee in the future.

In discussing public image as a person, all characteristics measured in Study 1 were intangible. It would be naive to assume that physical appearance held no role in the evaluation of others and in attitude formation. For example, Anna Kournikova does not have any tennis accomplishments to speak over, but her physical attractiveness elevated her to the third most effective endorser in 2003 ("Payoff pitches," 2003). Certainly, physical attractiveness is an element of public image as a person, but to lessen the subjectivity in the evaluation of beauty and maintain objectivity in measurement, steps were taken to eliminate its influence as a variable.

Previous research has demonstrated the effectiveness of endorser physical attractiveness on consumer attitudes (Ohanian, 1990; Pornpitakpan, 2003; Till & Busler, 2000). Study 1 attempted to eliminate physical attractiveness as a variable by covering the athletes' faces with sporting equipment and hiding the majority of the athletes' muscularly defined bodies. Fortunately, the attempted elimination of the variable appears successful with 44% of participants indicating neutrality when asked to whether their particular athletes were attractive. This neutrality coincides with that of British advertising managers who indicate a celebrity's attractiveness as difficult to assess because of constant media exposure and fan identification (Erdogan & Baker, 1999; Erdogan et al., 2001). Although the participants did not have prior exposure to the fictitious athletes, they demonstrated the difficulty is evaluating how physically attractive an apparent sports hero is when supplemented with additional information. This is appropriate as consumers would have additional knowledge

about a sports hero given the heightened media publicity, but more importantly, a sports hero under a cloud of suspicion would be presented by the media to consumers in relation to the allegations.

Interestingly, a cloud of suspicion lowered the sports heroes' attractiveness levels as evaluated by the participants. Of participants in the control groups, 31% agreed that the athletes were attractive as opposed to 23% in the treatment groups. These findings coincide with those of Kamins's (1990) which suggested the attractiveness of the endorser is only significant in selling beauty-enhancement and related products. Study 1 alleged the athletes were potential spokesmen for Nike sporting products rather than beauty products. Potentially, physical attractiveness is a supplementary, but not essential, element of public image as a person. Instead, consumers concentrate on more commendable qualities of a sports hero's public image as a person that reflect his ethical integrity and his country.

*Public image as a citizen.*

Reactions to disgraced athletes vary by countries and the integration of sport, fairness and integrity into national identities. Therefore, national identities are one explanation in the difference of global consumer reactions. Indeed, there appears to be a perception that athletes in Western countries, particularly the US, are greater steroid offenders. It may be that the American national identity is a contributor to the steroid allegation epidemic given the nation's foundation on independence and self-achievement (Scheurer, 2005; Wenner, 1989b). While the American focus group participants indicated a lack of surprise when steroid allegations arise, they did not indicate an overall acceptance of using the steroids to gain athletic advantages. One participant explained, "It was a big deal for me when I was a kid, but right now it doesn't really faze me and we have kind of gone through where we understand that [steroid use] actually occurs". As the media reports continue regarding



steroid allegations, the level of shock decreases. Still, the disappointment of a cheating Olympic athlete misrepresenting one's country does not wane.

In a telling reference to their American nationality and ideology, focus group participants emphasised the need for an indictment for steroid use before an endorser should be punished by removal from advertisements, essentially saying that a cloud of suspicion is not proof of any wrongdoing. Interestingly, one participant even referred to the US legal system's assumption of innocent until proven guilty (Melone & Karnes, 2008), thereby substantiating the cultural differences associated with handling a cloud of suspicion. This declaration of innocence is a starkly American view when compared to the Australians' approach of punishment when putting a sport into disrepute.

The American national identity clearly contrasts the Australian national identity, for example, which prides itself on mateship and social equality (P. Fricker, personal communication, November 12, 2008). Not surprisingly, Australian athletes are virtually absent from media-generated steroid allegations. Even when Ian Thorpe was accused, the momentum of the allegations quickly dissipated with the general consensus that the allegations were false (Magnay, 2007, April 6). Peter Fricker explained that the reason for the lack of steroid allegations against Australian athletes lies in the nation's cultural beliefs of giving everyone a 'fair go' and there being a sense of mateship. That camaraderie is noticeable absent in American sports and the American identity which focuses more on individual achievement.

According to the Australian Sports Commission's (ASC) general code of behaviour, players are to refrain from engaging in actions that may disrespect their individual sports (ASC, 2007b). Indeed, Australian athletes are almost legally bound to be role models based on this code of behaviour. AIS director Peter Fricker further explained the obligatory moral and ethical behaviour demanded from the athletes as a partnership with the taxpayers who

fund the government sporting organisations, such as the AIS (P. Fricker, personal communication, November 12, 2008). Given the taxpayers' interest in the athletes' training, the athletes are then expected to positively represent Australia, and indeed their fellow citizens.

Australian athletes have publicly supported their cultural approach of a 'fair go' in competition. For example, Tamsyn Lewis, an Australian track-and-field Olympic athlete, declared just days before her Beijing Olympic competition that "I have no doubts that when I line up next week, I will look left and right and know the other girls aren't all clean" (Wilson, 2008, August 6, ¶ 4). After the public condemnation, Lewis received significant media attention at her 800m qualifying race where she finished last and failed to qualify for the finals. While it would be logical for Australians to support Lewis in her desire for fair competition, she received considerable criticism for her public outbursts. Indeed, one blogger even commented that the Australian taxpayers would never see the money they had invested in Lewis' AIS funding repaid in championships or medals (Miketron, 2008). Evidently, from an Australian perspective where sport is a valued part of the national identity, unfair steroid use can be most effectively combated by winning.

While the Australian identity may foster equality among its professional and Olympic athletes, this may actually be detrimental to the athletes as potential endorsers and to the advertising practitioners. The most financially successful athletes earn the majority of their incomes from lucrative endorsement contracts (Newcomb & Palmeri, 1990). A sports hero, as defined by this study, is elevated above elite athletes because of athletic or personal achievement and heightened media attention. This contradicts the characterisation of the Australian national identity of equality, and the lack of a standout sports hero was worrisome to sponsors in weeks leading up to the 2008 Beijing Olympics (Canning, 2008, July 24). Consumers have admitted to idolising well-liked sports heroes (Shuart, 2007) and sponsors

seek to capitalise on fans' connectedness to athletes by employing them as endorsers (Friedman et al., 1978). However, idolisation of athletes is the result of sports heroes performing exceptionally in the sporting area as well as behaving as extraordinary citizens (Lines, 2001) as audiences look to media broadcasted athletes to portray heroic characteristics fitting of a role model (Goodman et al., 2002). Therefore, advertisers are presented with the mission of employing sports heroes who portray a positive public image as a citizen.

One element of public image as a citizen that participants from both studies were particularly concerned about was the example professional athletes under a cloud of suspicion set for a young audience. When participants in Study 1 were asked to indicate their levels of agreement with the statement that the sports heroes were setting a good example for a young audience, 89% of the control group agreed versus only 26% of the treatment group. Undoubtedly, a cloud of suspicion decreased participant perception of a sports hero to effectively portray a positive public image as a citizen in his responsibility as a role model.

Study 2 participants echoed the concerns of those in Study 1, and were able to offer insight for their trepidations. Concern over the youth audience's admiration of sports heroes was discussed in conjunction with the level of shock of steroid allegations diminishing as the number of athletes surrounded by clouds of suspicion increases. One participant explained it best by describing his current reaction to steroid allegations as minimal compared to the devastating disappointment felt five to ten years ago when a favourite sports hero was questioned. Although an adult now, five to ten years ago that participant was part of the youth audience. As a result of the frequency with allegations arise, focus group participants agreed that clouds of suspicion were no longer shocking. Though the public has established an aversion to steroid use by Olympic and professional athletes as a misrepresentation of public image as a citizen (Burke & Roberts, 1997), participants were concerned the youth audience

would begin viewing steroids as acceptable given the regularity with which they are discussed and confirmed. Their concerns are not unfounded.

The popularity of the Nike brand forces the company to employ endorsers who portray positive characteristics to the audience, especially to its youth following. Notably, as Pechaux and Derbaix (1999) confirmed Nike as a brand familiar to children aged between eight and twelve years old, its bearing on the youth is undeniable. Nike has established precedence for maintaining its endorsement contracts with athletes until steroid confirmation has been established because of legality restrictions with endorsers' contracts (Milner, 2004, December 14). Considering Atkin and Block (1983) classified youths as more susceptible to celebrity influence than adults in terms of attitudes towards a product, it is especially important for Nike endorsers to portray positive public images as role models because of their influence on children. It would not be surprising if future Nike contracts contained morality clauses to allow the company more freedom when assessing their endorsers' clouds of suspicion and public images.

This awareness and concern over the examples set by sports heroes was echoed by the US government. In fact, former President George W. Bush understood the seriousness of professional athletes using of steroids because of athletes' influence on youth and added steroid use for inclusion in the War on Drugs ("Drugs and the Olympics," 2004, August 7; Lochhead, 2004, December 9), a move which divided Study 2 participants. The severity of steroid use in relation to more extreme drugs, such as cocaine or heroin, was considered within group discussions. While participants agreed the effects of steroids were generally not as serious as hard drugs, its significance lies in the media's reporting of sports heroes' apparent consumption and their responsibilities as role models for the public. One participant explained that steroid use "is bad and so it should go in the War on Drugs because it is going to eventually hit the kids and if we can start with the professional athletes making it a bad

thing, then other kids might realise it is a bad and not go and do it". This suggestion to use sports heroes as a means of positively influencing the youth by diverting them from steroids and drugs through public service announcements was urged by House of Representatives Government Reform Committee Chairman Tom Davis soon after Bush included steroids in the War (Ferraro, 2006, August 30). Remarkably, Davis placed ownership in denouncing steroids on professional athletes (Ferraro, 2006, August 30), a sentiment similarly expressed in Study 2, thereby emphasising athletes' responsibilities as role models in portraying positive public images as citizens.

While the inclusion of steroids as a drug targeted in the War on Drugs is controversial, it may be effective in assisting the IOC's anti-doping campaign and techniques. Overall, Study 1 participants were extremely positive towards the IOC's steroid effects. Of the 175 participants that completed the online survey, 50% agreed the IOC was effective in preventing steroid use among Olympic athletes, 55% agreed it is effective in monitoring steroid use, and 62% agreed with the effectiveness of the IOC's punishments for steroid-using athletes.

During the Olympic Games, the IOC monitors and tests for prohibited substances by conducting random, unscheduled tests with which athletes are required to comply (The International Olympic Committee, 2008). Confirmation of illegal substances within an athlete's body can lead to disqualification and relinquishing of medals for Olympic athletes (The International Olympic Committee, 2008), punishments directly related to halting athletic competition. Study 2 participants agree with sport-focused punishments rather than imprisonment. If athletes confirmed of steroid use were punished according to the consequences established by the War on Drugs, the campaign's zero tolerance approach would equate to doping athletes serving prison time for their drug offences (Drug Policy Alliance Network, 2009). However, no athletes have served prison sentences for steroid use

yet. Marion Jones was sentenced to prison, but her punishment was a result of lying to federal investigators, not a result of steroid use (Associated Press, 2008, January 14; Zinser & Schmidt, 2007, October 6). Her requirement to admit guilt to steroid use (Zinser & Schmidt, 2007, October 6) was more of a social punishment than a legal consequence. Therefore, the US government appears to be as critical as Study 2 participants in punishing doping athletes to an equivalent degree as hard drug using criminals.

The lack of prison sentences for doping athletes is not necessarily troubling. In fact, the zero tolerance approach appears to be having an adverse effect in curbing the dangers of drug use as drugs become more potent, and in turn, more hazardous (Nadelmann, 2007). The marginalisation of drug users extends to steroid using athletes as they progress to not yet prohibited or undetectable substances.

The strict intolerance of the War on Drugs and the inclusion of steroids in its target contradict contemporary athletes' symbolism as modern Greek warriors. Reid (2006) associated virtue with Greek athletes given the requirement of ancient Olympiads to swear "an oath not to sin against the games" (p. 37). Yet including steroids in the War on Drugs challenges confirmed and accused athletes' virtuous qualities by categorising them with criminal drug offenders. Therefore, the effort of the IOC to appropriately punish doping athletes through restrictions in competition appears more appropriate than legal consequence. Indeed, Study 2 participants favourably evaluated the IOC in its efforts to maintain fair athletic competitions. In doing so, the organisation is doing its part to uphold the community's unfavourable opinion of steroid use. Clearly the IOC has accomplished a balance between its fear of losing public support and the public's demand for fairness in competition (Morgan, 2007).

The approval issued to the IOC for its steroid punishments would not be extended to professional sports' policies. In each of the three focus group discussions participants initially

suggested fining athletes for steroid use as an appropriate method of deterrent. Yet further discussion identified the flaws in the fining approach. A number of participants expressed concern that the monetary amounts doping athletes are fined are not substantial enough to deter cheating, particularly given the lucrative salaries of professional athletes participating in US sports compared to the salary of the average American. One participant explained that the cost of getting caught cheating does not prevail over the benefits of playing clean, meaning fines and penalties for steroid use are low, and by using steroids a player can improve his athletic performance and in turn, increase his salary. Another participant, who is a NFL fan joked, that the fines for steroid use in the NFL are so minimal that they equate to the weekly allowance of a player's child. Indeed, one participant challenged professional leagues to assume ownership in the deterrence of steroid use by increasing fines and penalties. If players are significantly disadvantaged as a result of a positive steroid test, the use of banned substances would decrease.

Other than the proposition of increasing fines, participants offered no solution to eliminating steroid use in professional sport. This is not surprising considering the ongoing commentary by researchers to find a solution. Suggestions for eliminating clouds of suspicion in sport range from legalising all substances in sport (Brown, 1980; Gardner, 1989) to increasing the strictness of consequences for testing positive to doping (Becker & Scheufele, 2008). Still, the suggestion to legalise all substances gravely discounts the public's aversion to steroid use within sport (Burke & Roberts, 1997) as demonstrated by the sporting community's revulsion to the overly muscular athletic body. Indeed, 81% of Study 1 participants disagreed that the use of steroids should be legalised to eliminate corruption in sport. Notably, Study 2 participants did not suggest eliminating the drug bans, backing Burke and Roberts's (1997) claim of a critical public disposition towards unnaturally enhanced athletic performance.

One interesting remark raised in Study 2 was the need to enforce steroid use penalties at the university level of sport. This concern is understandable given that in 1988, two years before Yesalis et al. (1993, as cited in Pallesen et al., 2006) claimed anabolic steroids seriously spread to sports other than weightlifting, Pope, Katz and Chapouz (1988) found that 9.4% of male university athletes surveyed admitted to steroid use. This is of concern when accounting for the level of fan identification that occurs in the US with university teams and players just as it does with professional teams and athletes. Certainly, sports heroes exist within university sport. Van Hoeck et al. (2000) explained that heroes arise at varying levels, from a local neighbourhood to a national community to a global society. In fact, the athlete participants within the focus groups may even have fans of their own. Having these young athletes express concern about cheating demonstrates the ill-will towards unfair advantages. Indeed, it almost suggests that athletes who are not tempted by financial gains will not engage in steroid use.

For US college athletes, financial compensation for athletic performance is not an option (Winkeljohn, 2008, July 27). National Collegiate Athlete Association president Myles Brand defends the position against athletes getting paid to play by explaining sport allows an athlete to develop “as a person and acquire attitudes and skills that will carry through life” (Winkeljohn, 2008, July 27, ¶ 15). This is similar to Teetzel’s (2007) claim that professional athletes are meant be role models for younger athletes by teaching and demonstrating ethical practice.

Doping degrades the spirit and character of sport (Tamburrini, 2007), as well as the credibility of athletes who are meant to be exemplifying the positives of their respective sports and countries. Therefore, having athlete participants raise concerns about steroid use in all levels of sport supports researchers’ (Burke & Roberts, 1997; Staudohar, 2005) assertions of the public’s aversion towards steroid use and the desire for athletes to positively represent



their respective countries. With Western countries relying on their Olympic athletes to reaffirm their international worth (Morely & Robins, 1995; Nauright & Magdalinski, 2003), a scandalised Olympian's public image as a citizen is susceptible to criticism. When fan support for a sports hero wanes due to a damaged public image, certainly his endorsement value will suffer.

*Endorsement value.*

H4, predicting the negative effect of a cloud of suspicion on a sports hero's perceived endorsement value, was clearly supported in Study 1. Participants were not motivated to purchase Nike products based on the sponsorship of the brand by the fictional athletes. This is not surprising considering Charbonneau and Garland's (2005) study revealed that New Zealand advertising practitioners were aware that employing a high-profile celebrity or athlete does not always translate into consumer purchase-intent. Nonetheless, Erdogan and Baker (1999) revealed British advertising managers acknowledge the use of a celebrity endorser can be an effective means for an advertising campaign to potentially break through media clutter and grab the audience's attention. In order to decrease the already high risk associated with employing athlete endorsers (Erdogan & Kitch, 1998, as cited in Charbonneau & Garland, 2005) and maximise their endorsement values, sports heroes should remain out of a cloud of suspicion media spotlight.

Surprisingly, while a clean public image is beneficial in securing lucrative contracts, it does not necessarily amount to a profitable endorsement value. While the steroid allegations were clearly detrimental to the fictional sports heroes' endorsement values as potential Nike endorsers, the effect of a cloud of suspicion was not as clear in analysing the persuasiveness of the athletes in motivating participants to purchase Nike products. Study 1 offered an Australian consumer stance to confirm the New Zealand practitioners' beliefs that the use of

a celebrity endorser does not necessarily persuade purchase-intent (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005). In fact, 80% of participants disagreed that the endorsers persuaded them to purchase Nike products. Even within the control groups, 73% of participants disagreed with the athletes' persuasive abilities in motivating an increase in sales. This is not surprising when considering Peetz et al.'s (2004) findings that revealed admiration of a sports hero endorser does not always translate into sales. Overall, although Nike is a popular brand and a sports hero without a cloud of suspicion is viewed more favourably than an accused athlete, employing a high-profile celebrity will increase attention on a brand (Miciak & Shanklin, 1994) but will not guarantee a profit increase. Consequently, an advertising campaign cannot rely on the endorser alone (Erdogan & Baker, 1999) as consumer attitudes are evolving to account for increased media focus on steroid accusations.

There is an indication that the effect of a cloud of suspicion on a sports hero's perceived endorsement value is diminishing for Americans, as expressed in the focus groups. This is logical considering the frequency at which athletes are being accused of steroid use in the US. For example, in the Mitchell Report alone, which commented only on steroid use in baseball, 75 past and current athletes were identified as users (Wilson & Schmidt, 2007, December 14). Study 1 participants overwhelmingly identified the US as a country suffering from athletes engaging in illegal steroid use within its professional sporting leagues. The frustration of cheating athletes within the US was apparent in the focus group participants as they expressed a lack of surprise when new allegations arise. To counteract the growing familiarity with steroid allegations, Tom Davis, an American politician suggested professional and Olympic athletes take more active roles in the War on Drugs by denouncing steroid use within sport.

One means of broadcasting an anti-doping campaign in support of steroid denouncement in the War on Drugs would be through a public service announcement (PSA).

Ad Council, the leading producer of PSAs in the US, addresses critical social issues in the areas of community, education and health and safety as they relate to American generations (Ad Council, n.d.-a). As the organisation already enlists athletes and sporting leagues to support advertising campaigns targeted at combating obesity (Ad Council, 2007, October 9), driving under the influence of alcohol (Ad Council, n.d.-b) and community outreach (MTV/Ad Council, n.d.), using sports heroes to promote anti-steroid use would be appropriate.

Yet at least three Study 2 participants were critical of the involvement of athletes in PSAs because of credibility issues. According to Van Hooft et al. (2000), trustworthiness and credibility are the two most important qualities an endorser must possess to effectively promote a product. Perhaps a sports hero free of a cloud of suspicion could successfully appear in a PSA, but the appearance of a confirmed steroid user would be more cynically received. One participant likened the use of reformed steroid-using athletes in PSA to “an alcoholic coming to you and saying don’t drink [alcohol]”. Another participant agreed by asserting, “I think that using the athletes as spokespeople for the War on Drugs is extremely hypocritical”, particularly if the athletes have been known as past users. This was furthered by an additional participant who explained the frustration in using athlete spokesmen in that it is the “top-notch ball players” who are using steroids. Without trust, the endorser lacks in the area of persuasiveness, an essential quality in motivating the masses. Overall, participants could not envision a young audience being able to comprehend the athletes’ anti-drug messages when the steroids had proved competitively effective; however, failed to recognise was the media’s role in creating that perception of all sports heroes using steroids.

A cloud of suspicion would not exist if it were not for media publicity highlighting the accusations. Moreover, the cloud of suspicion is heightened when the athlete under allegations is a sports hero because the popularity of the athlete suggests intense media

coverage is wanted by the public. Compounding the media accusations is the continuously updating banned substances list. With new substances constantly being upgraded to illegal status, the media has a responsibility when presenting the difference between legal and illegal performance-enhancing substances to the public. Denham (2000) attributed part of McGwire's cloud of suspicion and loss of credibility to the media's careless claims regarding his alleged steroid use without the backing credible sources. Certainly, the credibility of McGwire's public image and his perceived endorsement value has been damaged as evident in his rejection from the Baseball Hall of Fame (Sheinin, 2005, March 18). However, he is not the only athlete to suffer the consequences. As a result of media portrayals and reportings, participants created an exaggerated association between all athletes and steroid use.

Considering Michael Phelps's recent drug scandal, public doubt in athletes is almost understandable. He was a proponent against doping prior to the publication of the photograph depicting him with marijuana paraphernalia, even offering to partake in additional drug tests prior to the 2008 Beijing Olympics (Eason, 2009). As Study 2 preceded Phelps's drug scandal, a focus group participant praised his anti-doping effects, citing his voluntary testing and participation in commercials as demonstrative of his. Now, his trustworthiness as an anti-drug advocate is spoilt and credibility as a product endorser is damaged, demonstrating the power negative information associated with an endorser has on consumer evaluations. Even though endorsers with clean public images cannot promise the success of advertising campaigns, it is understandable why advertising practitioners attempt to decrease the risk associated with endorsers by seeking sports heroes known for positive media publicity regarding their athletic skill, integrity and good national representation rather than for clouds of suspicion.

Black sports heroes are not as praised as often as white sports heroes for their public images as people and citizens; instead, sports broadcasters tend to focus on their public

images as athletes. Researchers (Billings, 2003, 2004; Denham, Billings, & Halone, 2002; Lombardo, 1978; Rada, 1996; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005) have documented comments by sports broadcasters which aid in perpetuating the racial athletic stereotype via the media. The emphasis on athletic attributes rather than personal characteristics is potentially detrimental to black athletes' endorsement values. Being associated with athletic skill would enhance their marketability for sports-related products, merchandise with which athletes are most effective in promoting because of their perceived expertise (Arndorfer, 2002; Charbonneau & Garland, 2005; Miciak & Shanklin, 1994). However, Tiger Woods and Michael Jordan are just two examples of black sports heroes who illustrate how endorsement values can increase by generating followings of fans who idolise them as people and citizens, not simply athletes. The media's progressed recognition of black sports heroes' substance as people and citizens appears to have influenced participants in both studies. Notably, race was not a factor in participants' evaluations of the fictional sports heroes.

### *Race*

Conducting focus groups allowed participants to elaborate on their views of racial athletic stereotyping. Although previous research has demonstrated how sports broadcasters perpetuate racial athletic stereotypes (Billings, 2003, 2004; Denham et al., 2002; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Rada, 1996; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005), a lack of significant difference between the white and black sports heroes in Study 1 suggests that the absorption of the stereotypes may be diminishing. Notably, there was a difference in means between the black athlete and white athlete groups, which does suggest that the racial athletic stereotypes have been audience absorbed to some degree; however, as the difference in means was not great enough for race to be a significant effect, the stereotype appears to be minimising.

When accounting for the 2008 election of the first black president in the US, this

development is not surprising. The Civil Rights Movement took place in the 1960s (Sunnemark, 2003) and the equality fought for in that movement arguably has come to fruition with the election of Barack Obama as the 44<sup>th</sup> President of the US (Nagourney, 2008, November 4). The progression of attitudes in the US towards racial acceptance is unmistakable.

Clearly, public perception towards the significance of race is progressing, at least in developed countries. Race was not significant in Study 1 participants' assessment of the athletes, consistent with a survey conducted by ABC News and ESPN (2007, May 6). The 2007 survey revealed that of the 57% of respondents felt like Bonds had been treated fairly by the media in regards to his steroid allegations. More importantly, of the 30% that felt like Bonds had been treated unfairly, 56% believed it was a result of steroid allegations versus the 10% that attributed the unfair treatment to race. Therefore, the public evaluation of cloud of suspicion athletes is based on factors other than race.

This development may be the result of black athletes breaking stereotypes and filling positions in the sporting arena typically associated with white athletes. For example, the quarterback position in American gridiron (football) is considered mentally challenging, needing an analytical athlete with leadership capabilities to fill the role effectively (Lapchick, 1996b). Traditionally, white athletes have dominated the quarterback position (Lapchick, 1996a), with quarterbacks on victorious teams typically being elevated to sports hero status because of the centrality of the position. Billings (2004) noted that broadcasters tended to associate quarterbacks with lacking athletic skills, but compensating with intelligence. Buffington (2005) discussed the rise in the number of black quarterbacks. Accordingly, if more black athletes assume the quarterback position and lead victorious teams, the racial athletic stereotypes perpetuated by sports broadcasters should continue to diminish as sports

broadcasters will be forced to adapt the stereotype to accommodate the increasing number of black athletes filling the position.

Results from Study 1 and the discussions from Study 2 suggest that the racial athletic stereotype does appear to be declining. Although the elevated mean scores for the black versus the white athlete do suggest a difference in audience evaluations of sports heroes based on skin colour, race was not significant enough of a factor to be identified as a main effect in Study 1. Study 2 results confirmed and elaborated on these findings. For example, when questioned about the racial athletic stereotype, Study 2 participants were hesitant to acknowledge that the stereotype it even existed. Previous studies (Billings, 2003, 2004; Billings & Angelini, 2007; Denham et al., 2002; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005) have identified the difference in which the media describes white versus black athletes. Granted, the participants may not have had the stereotype challenged and brought to their attention. Yet participants could not even acknowledge that the media presented athletes differently based on their respective races. When asked if they associated the quarterback position in American football with a white or black athlete, every participant confirmed white. Once they were informed that their expressed associations of a white athlete with the quarterback position was a demonstration of the racial athletic stereotype (Billings, 2004; Rada, 1996), discussion began to flow more easily, as if participant were just becoming aware that the media is instrumental in perpetuating the stereotype.

Participants' lack of awareness of the racial athletic stereotype is completely plausible. Billings noted that in 2004 many of the racial stereotypes had improved from previous studies. Certainly this would suggest that in the four years time after his study was published and the focus groups were conducted, significant progress had been made to lessen the impact of the stereotypes as demonstrated by the undergraduate American students.

The filter in participants' initial comments may have been the result of social desirability in which they were providing politically correct commentary (Babbie, 2007). Indeed, a degree of social desirability appeared to be present in at least one group discussion. When a participant finally admitted that a belief in the stereotype of black athletes being more naturally talented, another participant exclaimed disbelief in the statement. Still in this group, the challenging participant also chastised another participant for making reference to the ghetto, rather than inner-city. Eventually, participants acknowledged that blacks were better athletes at some sports, yet would not give legitimacy to the alleged racial stereotype.

With the number of black quarterbacks at the collegiate and professional level increasing, it appears as though the stereotype is adapting to this change. White quarterbacks are still credited with advanced intellect, however, it is now being specifically applied to their passing skills (Giger, 2008, August 10). In turn, black quarterbacks are described for their abilities to run the football (Giger, 2008, August 10), keeping with the stereotype of their natural athleticism. Although it is disappointing that the stereotype still exists, the adaptation to account for an increased number of black athletes performing effectively in a commonly attributed intellectual position confirms Billings's (2004) suggestion that progress has been made.

The progressive reformation of the racial athletic stereotype may be the result of an increase the number of black sportscasters, many of whom are former players. White US sports audiences tend associate major sports with black athletes (Lapchick, 2000), perhaps because of the disproportionate number black athletes participating in sport compared to the number of black citizens comprising the US population (Hoberman, 1997). Utilising more black commentators during sports broadcasts will aid in counteracting the dominance of white sportscasters (Thomas, 1996) who typically perpetuate the racial athletic stereotype.



The employment of black sports broadcasters can be seen on US television. For example, CBS, a major television network, employs James Brown to host the show *The NFL Today*, alongside three retired professional football players, one of which is also black (CBS Broadcasting Inc., 2009). This trend of having more diversely representative sportscasting teams extends across other television networks, as well. A host of other retired black football players have been and continue to contribute to sport as onscreen analysts including Deion Sanders (McCarthy, 2006, February 24), Shannon Sharp (CBS Broadcasting Inc., 2009) and Michael Irvin (Hiestand, 2007, February 19), to name a few. With the media having been demonstrated as perpetuating the racial stereotype with broadcast commentary (Billings, 2003, 2004; Denham et al., 2002; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Rada, 1996; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005) through the white male domination of sports broadcasting (Thomas, 1996), employing more black commentators will counteract the classification of black athletes as naturally talented yet unintelligent. The normalcy of black sportscasters providing commentary during games and hosting sports shows suggests the racial stereotype perpetuated by the media will diminish as their comments moderate the stereotypical comments of the white sportscasters.

The increased presence of black sportscasters will certainly be influential in diminishing the effect the media on forming negative stereotypes. According to Hamilton and Sherman (1994), stereotypes are first learned in the home and are subsequently fostered by repeated portrayals of character representations enforcing social conceptions of ethnic groups in the media. For example, Eastman and Billings (2001) demonstrated that sports broadcasters described black basketball players in regards to their natural athletic prowess whereas white players were noted for their effort and intellectual skill. Fortunately, Billings (2004) then described the apparent progress in diminishing the negative racial stereotype, at least towards American football players. Sherif and Cantril (1947) explained that the further a

stereotype is cemented into a culture's ideology, the longer it will perpetuate. The selection of Stuart Scott in 1995 as the first black anchor for ESPN's *SportsCenter* (ESPN, 2007b), a daily sports recap program, made the appearance of black sports commentators a familiar sight. Accordingly, given the approximate ages of the focus group participants to be between 18 and 21, it is certainly plausible that their racial attitudes are more moderate as television networks create diversely representative sportscasting teams.

Yet it is also plausible that a limitation of qualitative research is responsible for participants' rebellion against the racial athletic stereotype given they are presented with a hypothetical situation. Study 1, a quantitative methodology, involved nomological thinking to establish cause-and-effect linkages (Sarantakos, 2005). Therefore, because variables were strictly isolated, race was identified as a minor cause in the difference in mean scores between the black and white athletes. While the differences in scores were not significant, they were noticeable. The qualitative methodology of Study 2 garners more subjective results (Sarantakos, 2005). Moreover, the issue of race is potentially offensive, thereby limiting the verbal contributions of participants (Sarantakos, 2005). This was apparent in their responses using the term "African American" rather than "black" as the researcher was using. Study 1 revealed participants reacted more negatively to a white cloud of suspicion sports hero than a black cloud of suspicion athlete as evident in their lowered mean scores. Arguably, participants were more willing to believe the white sports hero partook in steroid use, suggesting the racial athletic stereotype still exists. Yet within Study 2 no participants expressed belief that a white athlete would be more likely to use steroids than a black athlete. Interestingly, these participants were quick to concede the chances would be equal. Either the participants were uncomfortable revealing potentially racist feelings, or they were unsure of how they would react to a white athlete under a cloud of suspicion versus a black athlete. Optimistically, the presence of black sportscasters is reforming unfair racial evaluations.

The difference in the studies' populations cannot be discounted as a factor in the participants' reaction to black and white athletes. Undeniably, the American student participants in Study 2 are exposed to an increased level of multiculturalism within their home country, particularly to the black race, compared to Australia's population. Within the US 77% of the population is white (US Census Bureau, 2000) versus 92% of Australia's population (Central Intelligence Agency, 2009). Additionally, the next largest US ethnic group is the black population at 13% (US Census Bureau, 2000). Only 2.5% of the Australian population is Aboriginal (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006b), a black race classification. With this in consideration, it is possible that the Australian student participants comprising the population for Study 1 evaluate black athletes differently than white athletes.

One reason that may account for the difference in perception of black athletes between Americans and Australians may be the result of Aborigines being indigenous to Australia whereas blacks in the US are considered immigrants. Given the geographical location of Australia in Oceania, the 2006 census identified Asian and Pacific Islander ancestries as the most common non-white ethnicities among census participants (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006a). Consequently, it is not as common for Australians to have black athletes, much less sports heroes, engaging in their professional sport. With this in mind, a difference in American and Australian consumer evaluations of black athletes is understandable.

In order to collect a thorough understanding of the influence of race on consumer evaluations, it was necessary to discuss a cloud of suspicion with participants frequently exposed to black sports heroes. Utilising the presence of American study abroad students in Australia allowed for an international comparison with consumers in which the endorsement of products by black sports heroes is common. Creating a sample of American participants produced more robust discussion results, yet their perceptions may have been sensitised

because they were abroad. Although nationality was a limitation of the research, its presence was revealing in cultural implications of a cloud of suspicion. Other limitations were also considered.

### *Limitations*

Quantitative and qualitative research each has its limitations. For quantitative research, one critique is issued over the reality of the study in that it isolates behaviour from a natural social environment as a result of targeting variables (Sarantakos, 2005). Likewise, qualitative research has been criticised for its flexible approach which allows for more influence of variables and subjectivity (Sarantakos, 2005). All sources of information should be embraced when conducting social scientific research in order to further development (Long, White, Friedman, & Brazeal, 2000). As such, both a mixed method approach was used to supplement either approach's shortcomings.

One limitation of Study 1 is that it presented participants with fictional athletes. While a strength of an experimental design is that it allows for control over the effect of an independent variable on a dependent variable, in doing so, the environment in which participants are measured is contrived (Babbie, 2007). As such, it is not an absolute reflection of actual athletes accused of steroid use. In reality, it would be unlikely for all of the participants to have had no previous exposure to a sports hero, particularly given the high profile media exposure of a sports hero. Granted, the sport of swimming was chosen in an attempt to circumvent the potential lack of concern over an international athlete. However, even the popularity of swimming could not compensate for a biased media.

The US Olympic broadcaster during the 2004 Olympics focused overwhelmingly on US athletes over international athletes (Billings & Angelini, 2007). Presumably, the Australian Olympic broadcaster likewise focused on Australian athletes. Citizens are

arguably more interested in athletes representing their own countries because of the biased media portrayal. Although a fictional foreign athlete ensure study believability, it may have prompted participants to select the neutral response option in the likert-scale.

Participants' lack of identification with the athletes along with the middle response option of the likert-scale resulted in less passionate, but still significant, responses. According to Bishop (1990), participants with decreased levels of involvement in an issue are more likely to select the middle response. Placing the neutral response in the middle or the last position has been shown to significantly impact results (Bishop, 2001). However, placing the neutral ("3") response in the last position is illogical using the five point likert-scale and would have confused the participants.

Certainly a lack of popularity for the fictional athletes would have produced more neutral responses, but seemingly, the middle response option of the likert-scale would have been unlikely for the treatment groups given the public's distaste for doping in sports. The surprise of the treatment group means being closer to neutral ("3" on the likert-scale) suggests that control groups were more passionate than expected in supporting a positive public image. Surin (2006) explained that moral characteristics help fans in evaluating their idols; the more moral an athlete is perceived to be, the more popular. With this in mind, the lowered mean scores of the treatment groups should not be unexpected as they demonstrate the negative effect of a cloud of suspicion because steroid use is perceived as dishonest behaviour.

The limitation of fictional athletes was accounted for in the focus groups. Two current and ongoing clouds of suspicion for legitimate baseball sports heroes were used to prompt discussions. Participants established themselves as fans by indicating the teams they most identify with. A number of participants acknowledged identification with teams in which the accused sports heroes have played. Therefore, the difference in results between Study 1 and

Study 2 for public image as an athlete reveals how fan identification as a result of media exposure can lessen the impact of a cloud of suspicion.

In conjunction with the lack of publicity surrounding and knowledge about the athletes, their American nationality may have also hindered their evaluated effectiveness as endorsers. Administering the surveys in Australia, a country that considers sport to be a part of its national identity, may explain the strong effect a cloud of suspicion had on the participants' evaluations of the sports heroes' public images as citizens. Even though the fictional sports heroes were members of the US Olympic swim team, it would be logical for Australian participants to evaluate the athletes with the belief that sporting figures should engage in behaviour respectful of their sports. Australian athletes are virtually absent from the cloud of suspicion spectacle (Nadelmann, 2007). An athlete having allegations of steroid use could be enough for an Australian to consider the athlete putting his respective sport in disrepute. Further research is warranted to investigate a cloud of suspicion using culturally appropriate sports heroes to account for national identity.

Yet sports heroes across different cultures have demonstrated their abilities to effectively endorse products internationally. For example, Nike launched a global campaign featuring visual representations of heroism, choosing endorsers who represented admirable qualities (Stevens et al., 2003). In fact, two Nike endorsers, Michael Jordan and Tiger Woods, not only became fan-favourite endorsers in the US, but were also regarded as idolised sports heroes in Australia, obtaining endorsement contracts for sporting and non-sporting related product (Roach, 2006, September 2). This is not surprising given the information accessibility of the network society. Athlete or team identification and fandom can flourish with the aid of social networking, or the interconnectedness of different nodes (users) to simultaneously pass communication freely and openly (Castells, 1996). With previous campaigns demonstrating the abilities of sports heroes to effectively endorse products

internationally and the interconnectedness of the network society in supporting athletes worldwide, the use of American sports heroes in Study 1 is justified.

A sports hero does not have to be internationally known in order to be a successful endorser. Instead, Van Hoecke et al. (2000) discussed an athlete endorser's popularity simply needs to be celebrated in the advertising campaign's targeted region. Although Nike launches global marketing campaigns (Stevens et al., 2003), it also employs athletes considered heroes at a local community level (Van Hoecke et al., 2000). Therefore, because Nike is known for its variety in endorsers, Nike was used as the potential brand researching the effectiveness of potential featuring the fictional sports heroes in Study 1 as endorsers in upcoming campaigns. The use of an actual and popular brand was essential to the participant perceived authenticity on the study. Indeed, Nike proved to be an appropriate choice for the alleged campaign. The majority of participants' feelings (61%) were positive towards the Nike brand.

In its campaigns Nike uses endorsers who represent admirable qualities that coincide with its values (Nike, 2007). Heroism is frequently symbolised visually and verbally (Stevens et al., 2003). Nike CEO and President, Mark Parker, claimed its endorsers represent a variety of public image characteristics such as determination, passion and commitment (Nike, 2007); notably, physical attractiveness is not mentioned. As a result, physical attractiveness as a variable was methodologically controlled in Study 1 through the restricted presentation of athlete images.

The fictional athletes' faces were covered with sporting equipment to hide their true identities and mask participants' abilities to evaluate their facial attractiveness. Admittedly, the photographs of the athletes are not identical. The black athlete's image portrays him after a swimming race whereas the white athlete's image depicts him actively swimming. As race was not a main effect in explaining the difference in participant evaluations, presumably the

different images were not influential. Most importantly, both images accomplished isolating the physical attractiveness variable.

Though the influence of physical attractiveness was inhibited in the experiment, Till and Busler (2000) acknowledged its potential influence in determining an endorser's effectiveness in real world example. Historic art iconographically indicates that ancient Greeks considered a physically fit, muscular body to be the ideal (Stevenson, 1998). The focus on the muscularity of a body that existed in Antiquity has continued to remain the societal norm to represent the ideal (Rabb & Brown, 1986). It can be assumed that sport is associated with physical fitness and in turn, a muscular body. Therefore, while the attempt was to control for physical attractiveness by covering the athletes' faces, their physical appeal may have been influential on the participants' responses simply based on their levels of muscularity.

Ancient art has historically focused on the depiction of the body, but physical attractiveness represents only a supplementary element of public image as a person. Kamins (1990) suggested endorser physical attractiveness is only of significant importance when promoting products associated with maintaining an appealing physical appearance. In conjunction, researchers (Arndorfer, 2002; Charbonneau & Garland, 2005; Miciak & Shanklin, 1994) have demonstrated sports heroes to be most effective in promoting sports-related products because of their perceived expertise as a result of using them to succeed competitively. Arguably then, the masking of the athletes' facial appearance is justified in determining their potential in selling Nike's sporting apparel and equipment.

Physical attractiveness was not controlled in Study 2 when participants were presented with new media videos describing the clouds of suspicion surrounding two authentic baseball sports heroes, Roger Clemens and Miguel Tejada. It would have been illogical to mask their identities. Instead, the opportunity was available for participants to



comment on the athletes' attractiveness; none chose to do so. It is not surprising that participants did not acknowledge the sports heroes' attractiveness levels given one British advertising practitioner's explanation in the difficulty of assessing celebrity attractiveness as viewers are commonly exposed to photographs depicting the celebrity images (Erdogan & Baker, 1999; Erdogan et al., 2001). Presumably then, any degree of attractiveness felt towards the athletes on behalf of the participants becomes a component of the sports hero's public image as a person and contributes to fan identification. The overall level of fandom rather than the specific attraction felt towards each athlete was the targeted information in assessing the impact of a fan-following on softening the belief in or negativity surrounding a cloud of suspicion.

Although the structure of the focus group discussions allowed the flexibility of using actual athletes and displaying the athletes' facial features not methodologically viable in Study 1's quantitative approach, Study 2 was not without its limitations. For example, it would have been impossible to present the participants with two accused sports heroes under identical situations. As such, the new media videos shown in the focus groups were not equivalent. Clemens's interview denying the claims in the Mitchell Report was longer in length and more intimate than the news report on Tejada's alleged steroid use. Moreover, it is completely plausible that focus group participants were more familiar with Clemens because he has had a longer career than Tejada, which could have influenced their perceptions of him. By utilising a higher profile sports hero, the influence of the media and fan identification in creating more fan sympathy towards the accused athlete was apparent.

A difference in participants' evaluations of Clemens and Tejada is expected. It is likely participants had been exposed to the athletes prior to the focus groups for a number of reasons. Firstly, both participated in the American professional MLB. Tejada is currently playing with the Houston Astros (MLB Advanced Media, 2001-2009b) and Clemens only

just retired in 2007 (MLB Advanced Media, 2001-2009c). Certainly, the self-proclaimed baseball fan participants would be familiar with both athletes. Secondly, even without following baseball, the athletes' status as sports heroes elevates them to a high level of media publicity. The increased media exposure suggests participants had been exposed to reporting of the athletes outside the sporting arena. Lastly, all participants reported having some familiarity of the Mitchell Report or its implications; both Clemens and Tejada are named as steroid users in the report. These prior experiences with the athletes are important in explaining fan identification through person perception. As initial encounters dictate subsequent encounters (Fiske & Taylor, 2008), positive initial reactions to the sports heroes will prevail over the negative clouds of suspicion. Even with the similarities between the two athletes, the probable prior exposure would have differed as the athletes are not identical; therefore, a higher level of fan identification for Clemens than Tejada would result in varying participant evaluations.

A number of factors influence participant reactions including the nationality of the sports heroes and the participants. Although both players participate in the American professional MLB, Clemens is an American citizen (MLB Advanced Media, 2001-2009c) while Tejada is a citizen of the Dominican Republic (MLB Advanced Media, 2001-2009b). Dixon (2000) explained that fans are able to identify with the ideologies that athletes represent. Therefore, the American participants may not have identified as closely with the non-American athlete. Yet Morgan (2001) argued that a sport's athletes inspire achievement within fans. Compounding the inspiration of sport with Pope's (1997) explanation that institutionalised sport acted as a discourse to bridge the multicultural citizens of the US, it is possible that Clemens' higher-profile status, his longer career and his greater list of athletic achievements caused the participants' to offer him more support than they did to Tejada.

The momentum backing a cloud of suspicion and the quickness with which it modifies are illustrated through Tejada's situation. Since the focus groups were conducted, the gravity of Tejada's steroids case has developed. Tejada continues to maintain his innocence of using steroids, but admits to purchasing a banned substance and pleaded guilty to lying to federal investigators about his knowledge a teammate's steroid use (Schmidt, 2009, February 11). As such, he is the first baseball sports hero to be convicted of a crime related to the sport's steroids era (Associated Press, 2009a, March 26). He mimicked the concerns of the focus groups when he acknowledged his responsibility as a role model and apologised to his youth fans for his misconduct (Associated Press, 2009a, March 26). As punishment, Tejada is placed on a yearlong probation but ironically, the judge waived drug testing (Associated Press, 2009a, March 26). However, it is important to note that Tejada remains until a cloud of suspicion as he has never submitted a positive steroid test (Schmidt, 2009, February 11). The newsworthiness of the steroid issue presents a challenge to research design because of its ever-changing nature, but as the research is intended to measure media involvement and the effect of a cloud of suspicion rather than participants' feelings towards the actual athletes, participants' discussions remain pertinent. Schmidt (2009, February 11) identified the topicality of steroids in sport by commenting that over a year after the publication of the Mitchell Report, an initiative whose purpose was to allow baseball to identify the prevalence of steroids in its competition and to progress forward in preventing it, drug-related confrontations are still arising in the sport. It appears as though the steps taken to prevent steroid use cannot keep up with the momentum of the cloud of suspicion surrounding the entire sport.

After conducting the studies, the sample size of Study 1 did present limitations in calculating statistical analyses for the most thorough understanding of the relationship between public image and endorsement value. While the  $n=259$  sample size for Study 1 is a

legitimately large sample, its size presented restrictions to statistical analyses. Ultimately, a chosen sample should be as similar to the respective population as possible (Salkind, 2008). As access to an entire population is difficult logistically and financially (Field, 2005), selecting a representative sample is advantageous. Social scientific quantitative research aims to select a sample that represents as many of the population's characteristics as possible in order to calculate thorough statistics (Field, 2005). Unfortunately, the undergraduate students selected from the private Australian university for the opportunistic purposive sample did not create a representative sample of consumers, although they were randomly distributed to control and treatment groups. For the two by two factorial ANOVA, an opportunistic purposive  $n=259$  sample size was appropriate in distinguishing a cloud of suspicion as a significant main effect independent variable and race as an interaction independent variable given the random distribution of participants within the sample to experiment groups. The sample's largeness allowed the significance of the cause-and-effect for the cloud of suspicion independent variable stimulus to be clearly identified. Yet the closely relatedness of the endorsement value with the three elements of public image warranted a larger sample size for factor clarity.

Although previous literature is ambiguous in its discussion on a suitable sample size for exploratory factor analyses, the smallness of the sample size did prove to be a hindrance in conducting the exploratory factor analysis in Study 1. One camp of researchers identified a subject-to-ratio approach as the most appropriate when determining a suitable sample size when conducting exploratory factory analysis. The subject-to-variable ratio was strong at 64:1 and subject-to-item ratio at 9:1. Osborne et al.'s (2008) review of substantial ratios indicated that the ratio of Study 1 was higher than the minimum presented by previous literature. While research is lacking in the appropriate ratio for variables and items in exploratory research, researchers in multiple regression tests agreed that the higher the ratio

the better (Baggaley, 1983, and Pedhazur, 1997, as cited in Osborne et al., 2008). Yet the instability of the factor loadings and the revelation of three rather than four factors suggest support of the alternate camp of researchers who establish a minimum total sample size needed to adequately conduct an exploratory factor analysis (Osborne et al., 2008).

Researchers disagreed on the size needed of a sample but concede that the larger, the better (Pallant, 2007). Based on Comfrey and Lee (1992) the Study 1 sample size of  $n=259$  is classified as fair, whereas a sample of 300 participants and upwards would warrant a good to excellent rating. More importantly, a large sample needs to be representative of the population in order to obtain stable factor loadings (Cliff, 1970, as cited in Osborne et al., 2008).

Admittedly, the sample was not representative, yet this is only exploratory analysis. The study used as an experiment to examine an induced reaction to a stimulus; it was conducted to establish a cause-and-effect relationship with a cloud of suspicion and endorsement value. The oblique rotation identified the closeness and inter-relatedness of endorsement value and the elements of public image by arranging them most simply into three factors. The limitations of SPSS were evident in the three rather than four factors as the results simply suggest that public image and endorsement value have overlapping and interconnected characteristics.

Real world instances of the varying degrees of hostility towards cloud of suspicion sports heroes exemplify the complexity of the steroid issue. Hence, arranging survey items into the simplest battery loadings seems elementary and illogical. Ultimately, this served strictly as an exploratory exercise to assess the value of designing an altered scale for others to use in the future as a long scale. Certainly, a larger sample for scaling research is warranted for subsequent studies, as is more advanced software to accommodate the complexity of developing scales using an exploratory factor analysis with an oblique rotation.

*Implications of the Research*

The fight to prevent professional and Olympic athletes using steroids for unfair competitive advantage is a global concern for athletes, fan and advertising practitioners. The assessment of endorser risk is a recurring theme with advertising practitioners across cultures (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005; Erdogan & Baker, 1999; Erdogan et al., 2001). Having an endorser succumb to a cloud of suspicion is not as impactful on larger companies, such as Nike, with substantial advertising budgets (Mullen, 2003, August 18); but for companies with more modest budgets, having a scandalised endorser can be disastrous (Lane, 1996). As the current economic crisis is of global concern, certainly all companies, regardless of budgetary varieties, are interested in maximising their costs. The developed scaling instrument will assist in reducing advertising loss by assessing the risk associated with potential endorsers and the areas of their public images and perceived endorsement values in which consumers are sceptical. While the effects of steroid use on an athlete's performance can be financially beneficial in signing an increased salary contract (Denham, 2007), the public's aversion to cheating could prove financially costly for athletes using illegal substances to succeed.

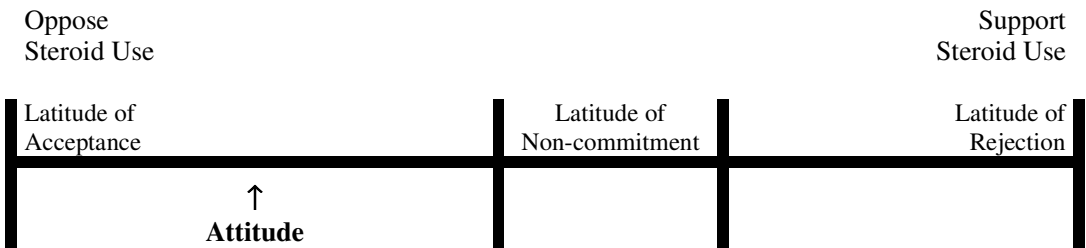
One of the most important characteristics of being an effective endorser is being able to establish trust with the consumers (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005). When athletes are caught lying about steroid use they are considered dishonest (Ajzen, 1988) and untrustworthy, demonstrating a lack of the most important characteristic of being an effective endorser. While steroid use is viewed critically among the public (Staudohar, 2005), athletes under clouds of suspicion remain in limbo waiting to be exonerated or charged. It raises the question of whether or not the accused athletes should be treated as guilty and considered dishonest like other athletes who have already admitted their guilt. The benefit of the scaling instrument lies in its ability to assess consumer evaluations of the endorser, thereby indicating the perceived level of guilt or innocence when examining elements of the athlete's public

image as a person and citizen, and perceived endorsement value. Ultimately, the results of the scaling instrument need to be analysed in conjunction with the location of the cloud of suspicion along the spectrum of support or opposition to steroid use in order to best assess the risk of the endorser.

The applicability of Social Judgment Theory in a contemporary setting for predicting the negative effects of a cloud of suspicion on a sports hero has been demonstrated. As the theory explains attitudes in relation to acceptance or rejection along a continuum (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003), one aim of Study 1 was to identify the widths of participants' latitudes of acceptance, neutrality and rejection towards steroid use in professional and Olympic sport. Wilson (1992) acknowledged that latitude widths vary according to topics and individual views. Participants' combined latitudes confirmed Wilson's claim. Their latitude of acceptance that steroid use should be regulated was the largest in width followed by their latitude of rejection in legalising steroid use (see Figure 40). Latitude of non-commitment formed the smallest width, indicating that participants are clear on their unfavourable beliefs towards unfair athletic advantages; their indifference to the steroid use issue was minimal. Yet the need to assess cloud of suspicion situations on a case-by-case basis was also made clear when analysing the spectrum. Understanding the range of the latitude of acceptance width will allow advertising practitioners to assess the effectiveness of an athlete under a cloud of suspicion as an endorser.

Figure 40

*Participants’ Largest Overall Latitude Width was the Latitude of Acceptance, Followed by their Latitude of Rejection and Latitude of Non-Commitment*



The spectrum to assess participants’ latitudes of acceptance, rejection and non-commitment contained statements ranging from the most extreme in support of steroid use to the most extreme in opposition of steroid use. These two extreme stances were placed at either end of the spectrum with the most neutral stance identifying the middle of the continuum. The distribution of statements regarding the support or opposition towards steroid use is illustrated in Figure 41 with the latitude of acceptance on the left, non-commitment in the middle and rejection on the right.

The second statement from the left, “Since steroid use provides athletes with an unfair advantage over their opponents, consumption of steroids by professional athletes should be prohibited”, received the largest percentage of “completely agree” at 91%, anchoring the overall participants’ attitude. The closeness of the attitude towards the end of the spectrum indicates a strong, but not extreme opposition to steroid use. Therefore, there is opportunity for the attitude to be manoeuvred in either direction. Most importantly, the anchoring of the attitude location demonstrates the participants’ openness to being persuaded to accept steroid use under certain conditions.

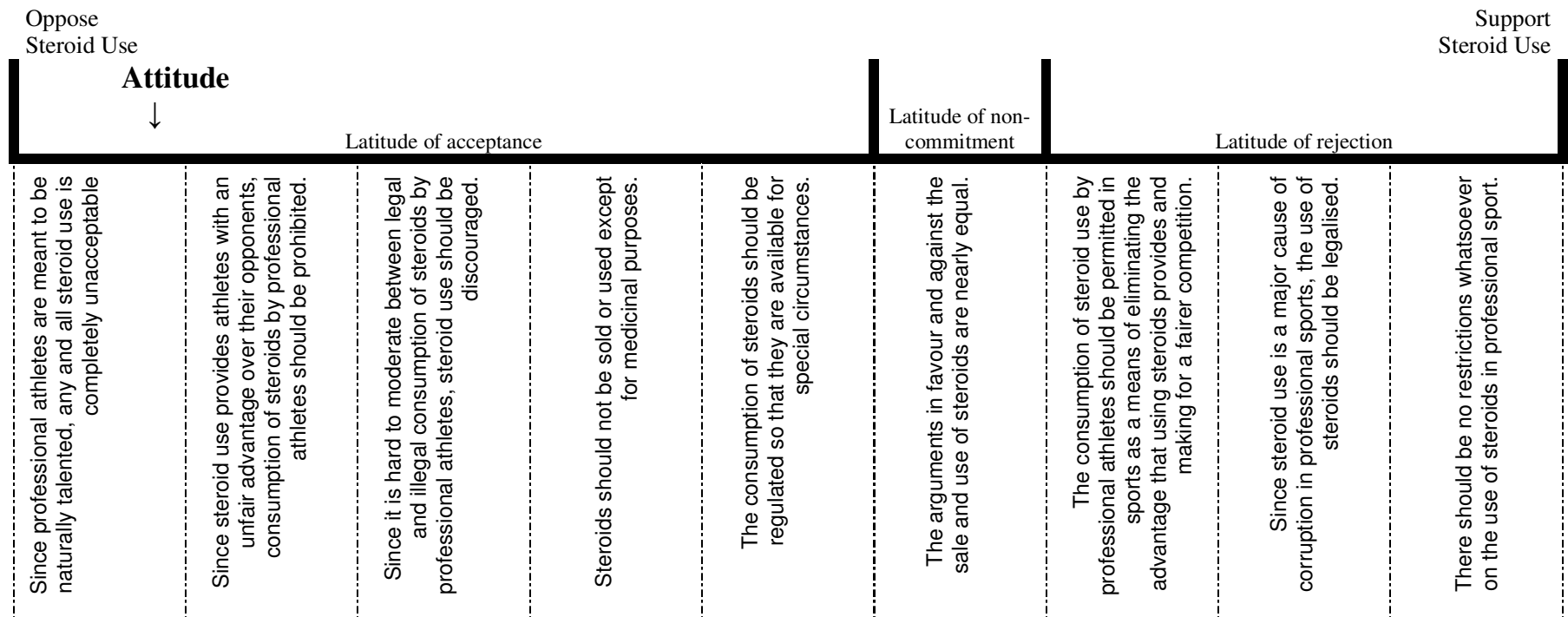
Study 1 results were clear that a cloud of suspicion detrimentally affects a sports hero’s perceived endorsement value, but real world examples have demonstrated that cloud of suspicion athletes have the potential to be successful endorsers, depending on the strength



behind their allegations and the public's perception of their images. The closer the accused athlete's controversy lies towards the middle of the spectrum, the better his potential to successfully endorse a product. This even suggests that an extremely positive public image sways the positioning of the attitude on the spectrum to a more neutral or passionately favourable location.

Figure 41

*Latitude of Acceptance was the Largest in Width which Demonstrates Participants' Opposition to Steroid Use. The Second Statement from the Left Received the Highest Percentage of "Completely Agree" Indicators from Participants, Anchoring Their Combined Attitude at the Statement "Since Steroid Use Provides Athletes with an Unfair Advantage Over Their Opponents, Consumption of Steroids by Professional Athletes Should be Prohibited"*

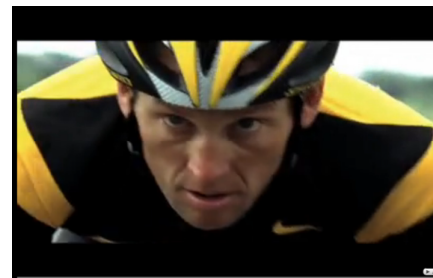
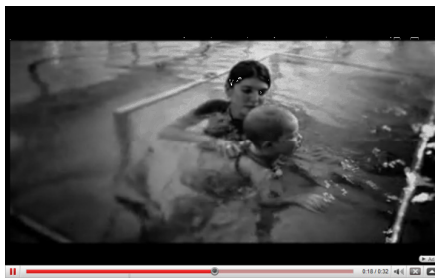
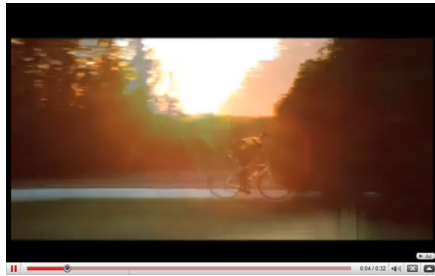


The latitude of acceptance ends at using steroids under special circumstances (50% completely agree with the statement), but the strength of participant agreement (69%) began to waiver at the statement “Steroids should not be sold or used except for medicinal purposes” whereas the preceding statement closer to the end of the spectrum garnered 81% of participants’ complete agreement. This is not surprising when examining the cloud of suspicion surrounding cancer-surviving cyclist Lance Armstrong. He became a sports hero not only for his athletic achievement but because he accomplished those feats after beating testicular cancer. Therefore, Armstrong is continuously associated with a medical condition. Though his cloud of suspicion continued into his retirement, the public and his sponsors continue to dismiss the allegations, weakening their momentum.

Nike appears to be a brand that understands the need to assess negative information associated with their endorsers individually. Researchers (Louie & Obermiller, 2002; Vande Berg, 1998) have explained that negative publicity can actually be used beneficially for a company, a concept Nike exploited when allowing Armstrong the platform of a television commercial to denounce his cloud of suspicion and reassure the fans of fair conduct. In his most recent Nike television commercial, Armstrong capitalises on the sympathetic disposition of his fans by depicting images of physically injured individuals who are undergoing physical rehabilitation (see Figure 42), reminding viewers that he, too, overcome illness. Yet dissimilarly, before Marion Jones’s cloud of suspicion had been confirmed, Nike had removed her from all advertising campaigns (Jung, 2004a, December 9). Obviously, other factors prove influential when assessing the damage a cloud of suspicion will have on a sports hero’s endorsement value and these factors need to be considered to determine whether the steroid allegations will fit into the public’s latitude of acceptance.

Figure 42

*Armstrong's Most Recent Nike Commercial Reinforces his Achievement of Overcoming Cancer by Depicting Images of Physically Ill Individuals while Passively Denouncing his Involvement with Steroids*



(YouTube, 2009c)

The scaling instrument developed in Study 1 can be used by advertising practitioners to evaluate the potential gain or loss of a prospective or current cloud of suspicion endorser. Statistical analysis revealed the high degree of reliability demonstrated by the instrument and its items in measuring the public image and endorsement value components of a successful athlete, in this instance a fictional athlete. Though the concepts were not researched as strictly in Study 2, results for the focus groups' discussions of actual athletes under clouds of suspicion did echo those of the fictional athletes in Study 1. Given the ability to isolate the cloud of suspicion independent variable, the clarity a cloud of suspicion's negative impact is not surprising when analysing its impact in relation to person perception. Fiske and Taylor (2008) explained that impressions are formed at the first encounter. Participants in Study 1 had no prior exposure to the fictional athletes presented during the study. Therefore, the clearly detrimental effect of the independent variable on the control groups is expected as the negative cloud of suspicion article accounts for the initial encounter the participants had with the athletes. Yet an established sports hero would certainly have been exposed to the audience prior to his steroid allegations. According to person perception, the audience will then access that initial experience when processing subsequent information (Fiske & Taylor, 2008) regarding the sports hero. However, for audiences unfamiliar with the accused athlete, the negative effect of a cloud of suspicion is potentially substantial on his endorsement value.

It would be interesting to apply the scaling instrument to actual cloud of suspicion sports heroes to assess their perceived public images and endorsement values. Perhaps Nike speculated the difference in public perception towards Armstrong and Jones. Arguably, public perception excuses Armstrong's cloud of suspicion was well severe because of his previous medical condition whereas Jones' was viewed strictly to obtain an athletic advantage. Had the company applied the scales to these two cloud of suspicion sports heroes, Nike would have had a more definitive evaluation of the endorsers and the public image and endorsement value areas the public was sceptical.

Comparing real world examples of cloud of suspicion athletes through their evaluations based on the scaling instrument would allow examination of variables other than race and a cloud of suspicion as influencers in the public's varying stances towards athletes under clouds of suspicion. Applying the scales to a variety of sports heroes would offer telling results about the influence of the media in public perception of athletes. The examination of other factors is necessary given that person perception suggests the audience's perception of a cloud of suspicion sports hero is multifaceted (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). The high reliability of the scaling instrument in evaluating the fictional athletes demonstrates audience evaluations are complex. The role of the media is clear in that it serves as a vessel through which societal norms, the basis for public opinion, are passed (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994; Ross & Nisbett, 1991).

The reliability of the scaling instrument and its ethnical neutrality will allow for multicultural effectiveness in assessing endorsers under clouds of suspicion. The emphasis on endorsement qualities differ by country and culture. For example, British advertising practitioners focus on endorser credibility (Van Hooeck et al., 2000) whereas New Zealand practitioners are more concerned about the risk associated with an endorser (Charbonneau & Garland, 2005). These nuances were taken into consideration when developing the instrument. Moreover, the instrument offers a more well-rounded and thorough evaluation of all components encompassing an effective endorser. Practitioners would be able to isolate specific qualities pertinent to their respective cultures while examining other influential qualities. As endorsers have the ability to be cross-culturally effective, having an instrument to assess endorsers' perceived effectiveness in a global advertising campaign is beneficial to decrease the risk associated with employing an endorser.

Regardless of the policy and stance on steroid use in any sport, the cloud of suspicion creates concern for consumers, athletes and advertisers. Particularly given the apparent interactions between the cloud of suspicion and race, gender and geographical location, the impact of the cloud of suspicion is a concern for international sports communication. The

suspects under the cloud come from a variety of sporting events, each representing different consumer products and brands, with trust being the operate characteristic an endorser needs to possess. The worldwide spread of the steroid rumours demonstrates the resilient nature of this controversy. Investigating the media effects of a cloud of suspicion on sports heroes' perceived endorsement values offers insight to a contemporary issue that can be practically applied to the fields of sports communication and media advertising.

## Chapter 7

### *Conclusion and Future Research*



The fight against steroid use by professional and Olympic athletes is a global concern that refuses to slow. This research sought neither to confirm nor exonerated athletes of steroid use, but simply to assess the effects of a cloud of suspicion on consumer attitudes. Steroid suspicions and confirmations present ethical and financial dilemmas for advertisers, consumers and sports hero endorsers alike. Fans are confronted with an impasse at which they have to choose whether to support or reject the sports heroes under suspicions. Advertising practitioners must assess the risk associated with sports heroes under clouds of suspicion when selecting them as endorsers. As a result of the perceived increased gamble in their employment, sports heroes may feel the monetary repercussions from the mounting allegations. This research examined consumer response to a cloud of suspicion to identify the financial repercussions of athlete endorsers who have been presented by the media as representing immoral character through alleged steroid use.

Recently, clouds of suspicion present the appearance that steroid use in a variety of sports across different countries is increasing, but this is hardly a novel form of cheating in sport. Examples of steroid allegations and confirmations demonstrate that no country and no sport are exempt from the controversy. For example, in 1998 Canada's sprinter Ben Johnson was forced to resign his Olympic gold medal because of a positive steroid test at the Seoul Olympics (Brunt, 2000). China was publicly affected by athlete steroid allegations in 1994 by the dominance of its women's swim team at the World Championships (Lawrence, 1994). A swimmer was again the target of a steroid controversy in 1998 when Ireland's Michelle Smith was banned from the sport for apparently tampering with her urine sample. Finnish skiers tested positive for steroid use in 2001 (Carstairs, 2003), followed by a Czech tennis player in 2003 ("Czech Ulihrach suspended until '04 for positive steroid test," 2003, May 3). Allegations continued in 2006 by targeting an Australian swimmer ("Report: Thorpe tested positive in '06," 2007, March 30), a German cyclist ("Doping scandal rocks Tours: favorites Ullrich, Basso barred on eve of race," 2006) and a multitude of American baseball players (Wilson & Schmidt, 2007, December 14). Even a Greek Olympic walker was disqualified for

steroid use before the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games (Associated Press, 2009, April 13).

Undoubtedly, steroid use in sport has a demonstrated history and has been established as an international and enduring challenge.

Media's increased coverage of steroid allegations has led to a perceived increase in steroid use by athletes and has prompted responses from sporting organisations (Gettelman, 2008, July 23; Intelligent testing: USOC taking more active role in anti-doping strategy," 2007, July 1) and governments (Penner, 1998, August 7). These responses occurred in order to account for the public's distaste for cheating (Morgan, 2007; Staudohar, 2005), yet the role of the media in cultivating public opinion cannot be overlooked. The media have the ability to highlight issues as necessary in the forefront of discussion (Denham, 2004). For example, even though 31% of elite Swedish male track-and-field athletes admitted to anabolic steroid use in a 1975 survey (Ljungqvist), the heightened media attention to steroid use in professional and Olympic sport did not occur until the 1990s (Denham, 2004).

The multitude of steroid allegations surrounding sports heroes compromises their role model status as they are expected to exemplify admirable behaviour in and out of the sporting realm (Lines, 2001). Heroes have long been admired for their roles as champions and community influencers (Klapp, 1962). With anabolic steroid use having been confirmed among adolescents (Pallesen et al., 2006) coupled with the ability of sports heroes to influence children (Atkin & Block, 1983; Pechaux & Derbaix, 1999), concern by the media regarding steroid use in professional and Olympic sports is understandable. However, exploiting the influence of sports heroes on children as justification for reporting steroid allegations (Denham, 2004) warrants examination of the media's presentation of clouds of suspicion. Conducting future research in applying the agenda-setting theory to media presentation of a cloud of suspicion may be telling in understanding the reason the societal attitude is anchored so strongly against steroid use, particularly by use of women.

Given that fans, including the youth, aspire to be like the sports heroes they follow, sporting organisations are faced with the predicament of identifying cheating athletes but at

the risk of alienating fans. The identification of children using steroids in the US and South Africa to excel in sport are but two examples of how the perceived prevalence of steroid use by professional and Olympic athletes has affected a younger audience. With celebrities' abilities to influence audiences (Shuart, 2007; Till & Busler, 2000), particularly children (Bush et al., 2004; Pechaux & Derbaix, 1999), sports heroes under clouds of suspicion are vulnerable to heightened negative media publicity, damaging their public images and perceived endorsement values.

Previous research has established the influence of the media in establishing and maintaining societal norms (Ross & Nisbett, 1991), including the public aversion to steroid use (Staudohar, 2005) and the perpetuation of the perceived societal white male dominance (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994). This research furthered the discussion of media influence by specifically targeting the media's role in dispersing clouds of suspicion surrounding sports heroes and nullifying the impact of a cloud of suspicion for public image friendly athletes. The media must be considered a significant causal agent given a cloud of suspicion having been established as a significant effect in influencing participant evaluations of a sports hero. Arguably, the media can therefore also be considered significant as the cloud of suspicion newspaper stimulus represented a media vessel.

While the negative effects of media publicity were demonstrated through quantitative analysis with media exposure the experimental stimulus, qualitative analysis revealed the impact of a cloud of suspicion can be softened. The Study 2 focus groups were telling of the potential positive influence of the media in its ability to lessen the effects of a cloud of suspicion on an established sports hero's public image as an athlete. Participants' evaluations of Roger Clemens in his public image role as an athlete were not detrimentally impacted by the steroid allegations. Therefore, even the strength of Clemens's cloud of suspicion as a result of being named as a steroid user in the Mitchell Report would not dampen participants' beliefs in his athletic ability. More research is warranted to investigate the balance between a fan-following and the momentum backing a cloud of suspicion.

Neither the quantitative nor the qualitative methodologies confirmed race as a significant influence in participant evaluations of sports heroes. Previous research highlighted how sports broadcasters comment differently on white versus black athletes in their natural athletic abilities and intellect (Billings, 2003, 2004; Denham et al., 2002; Eastman & Billings, 2001; Rada, 1996; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005). While race was not significant in increasing or decreasing the strength of the clouds of suspicion surrounding the fictitious athletes, the media stimulus inflicted on the treatment group participants did not describe the athletes stereotypically according to the racial athletic stereotypes typically used by sports broadcasters. Billings (2004) has identified potential progress by sports broadcasters in diminishing their use of racial markers in the commentary for American gridiron (football) quarterbacks, but research examining the effect of the commentary is lacking. Therefore, future research is necessary to measure the degree to which the media manipulate audience evaluations of sports heroes by depiction of racial stereotypes.

Previous researcher designs (Billings, 2003, 2004; Billings & Angelini, 2007; Billings, Angelini, & Eastman, 2005; Billings, Halone, & Denham, 2002; Denham et al., 2002; Eastman & Billings, 2001) analysed sports broadcasters' comments to identify difference in the descriptions of black versus white athletes yet did not specify the race of the media personalities. With the number of black sportscasters in the US increasing, expanding preceding research paradigms to racially identify the sportscasters and their comments would indicate the degree of progress by media members in lessening the racial athletic stereotype. Therefore, extending the dimensionality of a content analysis to account for the race of the sportscasters will reveal linguistic differences between white and black sportscasters. Predictably, black sportscasters' comments will counteract the racially stereotypical comments by the white sports broadcasters, but an investigation needs to be conducted in order to confirm the black sports broadcasters are not perpetuating the racial athletic stereotype.

The temptation for athletes to use steroids is understandable, though not condoned, because of the advantageous physical effects on an athlete's body. Consuming steroids provides athletes with a definite advantage over opponents because steroids allow athletes to train more frequently and for a longer duration of time (BMA Board of Science and Education, 2002; U.S. Department of Justice Drug Enforcement Administration, 2005). This is especially significant in endurance performing sports, such as swimming, track and cycling but has also infiltrated non-endurance sports including baseball.

The UCI is responding in an immediate and prolonged manner to the persuasive abilities of steroids for cyclists through an aggressive approach. Active cyclists under suspicion of doping can be disqualified from competition, even without testing positive (Murphy, 2008, February 18) as part of the UCI's objectives of detecting and deterring cyclists from doping (Union Cycliste Internationale, 1997-2009). The ramifications of doping allegations and confirmations withstand even into retirement. For example, Jan Ullrich entered into retirement with a cloud of suspicion surrounding him after his 2006 Tour de France disqualification (Austen, 2007, February 27). Similarly, Tyler Hamilton's retirement after steroid confirmation does not absolve him from punishment. Ford (2009, April 18) explained that a suspension punishment, though not applicable for racing given Hamilton's retirement, can affect Hamilton's public image and his future cycling endeavours. Hamilton's confirmation of steroid use will cause long-term effects, but a cloud of suspicion has also proven to be detrimental for a prolonged period of time.

For Mark McGwire, a cloud of suspicion has been more haunting after his retirement than when he was an active baseball player in terms of solidifying his standing as a legendary sports hero. Even with his single season homerun record, McGwire has been rejected from the baseball Hall of Fame (Sheinin, 2005, March 18). Gaffney (2008, January 9) claimed that McGwire's refusal to address questions regarding his alleged steroid use prevented electorates from voting him into the Hall of Fame as it allows voters to draw their own conclusions regarding his silence. Clearly, his rejection reveals a perceived guilt in the court

of public opinion and demonstrates the potential for steroid suspicions to produce a prolonged impact.

The effect of a cloud of suspicion on athletes without strong fan-followings and on those who have unfavourable public images has been established. For Barry Bonds the strength of his cloud of suspicion, and eventual confirmation ("Bonds exposed: Shadows details superstar slugger's steroid use," 2006, March 7), garnered heckling from the fans (Quinn, 2007, July 21) and failure to secure endorsement contracts (Milner, 2004, December 14). Similarly, Study 1 participants confirmed the detriment a cloud of suspicion has on a sports hero without prior media exposure. These examples highlight the importance of positive media publicity in order for a sports hero to have a lucrative endorsement value. The media's role in presenting athletes positively provides them with the potential to become sports heroes and increase their marketability through favourably portrayed public images.

Both Study 1 and Study 2 focused on male sports heroes, but future research is needed to investigate the impact of gender on a cloud of suspicion and endorsement value. The increasing number of female professional and Olympics sports heroes presents the potential to expand endorsements from being male-dominated. Peetz et al. (2004) identified the persuasive abilities of male sports heroes in relation to their celebrity and perceived expertise. Combining this research with other studies that have investigated gender differences in sports broadcasters' comments (Billings & Angelini, 2007; Billings et al., 2002; Denham et al., 2002; Eastman & Billings, 2001) by means of a meta-analysis provides advertisers with a foundation to speculate the reasons for female sports heroes' lessened effectiveness in promoting products.

Certainly Study 1 can be broadened to account for gender differences within audience evaluations regarding a cloud of suspicion. In fact, the cloud of suspicion newspaper stimulus was adapted from an actual article in which the accused athlete was a woman. To measure the cause-and-effect impact of steroid allegations on a female sports hero, the language on the stimulus and athlete profile can be gender adapted where necessary to reflect a female athlete

rather than a male. For a gender comparison to be made then, the research should select a sport based on cultural popularity so that either gender sports hero would make a likely endorser. The combined Solomon four-group and posttest-only control group design used in Study 1 could be easily adapted to accommodate the gender study by replacing one of the male sports heroes with a female of the same race. A two by two factorial ANOVA would identify the significance of a cloud of suspicion and gender as independent variables on public images and endorsement values. Yet, for a more practical application of the Study 1 instrument, advertising practitioners can administer the questionnaire for the targeted female athlete endorser with the replacement of the Nike brand for the appropriate one.

Altering the Study 1 methodology to accommodate a gender study would expand the discussion of Teetzel's (2007) research identifying the breakage of gender roles as the primary catalyst driving the more negative reactions to female steroid use than male. It would be interesting to compare audience reactions to male and female sports heroes under clouds of suspicion as a means of draw conclusions about gender perceptions and the influence of the media in perpetuating gender roles. As Peetz et al. (2004) identified the audience's perception of male sports heroes being more effective endorsers than females, the comparison using the survey instrument from Study 1 would reveal the public image and endorsement value areas in which the men excel over the women. Moreover, it would offer audience evaluations of female sports heroes and allow examination of the impact being associated with the stereotypically male traits as a result of apparent steroid use would have on the accused female athlete's marketability.

Media portrayal generally focuses on the stereotypical side effects of steroid use, such as enlarged muscles. When women consume steroids, potential side effects are the growth of facial hair and the deepening of their voices (Burke, 1997; Haff, 2006), traits typically associated with men. Therefore, the consumption of steroids by women challenges the culturally defined gender role norms, oddly suggesting that it is more acceptable for men to consume steroids than women. However, the acceptability of muscular definition and mass is

blurred. Clearly, heightened male muscularity is considered a social norm that does not extend to females even though athletes need to have a degree of strength and muscularity in order to be able to competitive given the physicality of sport. By expanding Study 1 to accommodate the two genders, social norms surrounding the ideal muscular body type can be dissected and the degrees of muscular acceptability can be analysed from a gender approach.

The public intolerance of steroid use among athletes continues to be challenged without an effective solution yet to be presented. Although Nadelmann (2007) challenges a drug-free world is unattainable, Australian athletes have demonstrated how the elimination of steroids within competitive sport is possible, even within a culture where alcohol consumption is a part of social interaction. While steroid use as a form of cheating has a negative connotation as defined by societal norms, there is indication that fans are forgiving to established sports heroes in their public image roles as athletes. Fans have adapted their ideal body type to accommodate for the increasing number of steroid allegations; therefore, the question arises as to whether fans will also have to soften their staunch anti-steroid stance. In light of Manny Ramirez's recent suspicion for testing positive to a banned substance, one Web 2.0 user commented, "I shouldn't be, but I'm actually surprised" (ESPN News Services, 2009, May 7). Though logical would suggest fans are becoming immune to steroid use in sport due to the increased media coverage, their distaste for anabolic steroid use remains undeniable.

Bearing in mind the current global economic crisis, the need to secure reliable endorsers is even more urgent. Smaller companies, such as Fila, have expressed concern over employing high profile athlete endorsers with the company's modest advertising budget (Lane, 1996). Dissimilarly, Nike has a more generous endorser pool to mirror its more than billion dollar annual advertising budget (Mullen, 2003, August 18). Certainly, the expectation exists that advertising budgets will be downsized. Although companies personalise campaigns to meet cultural tendencies (Peetz et al., 2004), some endorsers have the ability to cross cultural boundaries (Roach, 2006, September 2). The more marketable sports hero



endorsers will become more important than ever in order to capitalise on fan identification for potential profits. Importantly, maintaining a public image free of scandal, including a cloud of suspicion, is vital in order to maximise costs and draw consumers.

After twenty years of sports heroes confirming their own steroid use and speculating of others' use in their respective sports, the ability of the public to maintain its antipathy to steroids is tested. For example, after track-and-field athlete Ben Johnson was stripped of his gold medal he claimed all internationally competing athletes were using performance-enhancing substances. Then in 2002 retired baseball sports hero Ken Caminiti revealed his own steroid use in 1996 and approximated half of all MLB players as being users (Denham, 2004). As recently as the 2008 Beijing Olympics, Australian track-and-field athlete Tamsyn Lewis echoed Johnson's stance by declaring she would be racing against drug cheats (Wilson, 2008, August 6). As it stands, the public remains adverse to steroid use in sport. Consequently, a cloud of suspicion clearly threatens sports heroes' perceived endorsement values and public images given their supposed responsibility to behave extraordinarily in and out of the sports arena.

## References

- ABC News/ESPN. (2007, May 6). With broad suspicion of steroid use, most fans hope Bonds falls short. Retrieved February 24, 2009, from <http://abcnews.go.com/images/US/1034a2BarryBonds.pdf>
- Abram, S. (2008). Social libraries: the Librarian 2.0 phenomenon. *Library Resources & Technical Services*, 52(2), 19-22.
- Abreu, D. V., Tamura, T. K., Sipp, J. A., Keamy Jr, D. G., & Eavey, R. D. (2008). Podcasting: contemporary patient education. *ENT-Ear, Nose & Throat Journal*, 87(4), 208-211.
- Ad Council. (2007, October 9). U.S. Department of Health & Human Services and Ad Council joining NFL to combat childhood obesity. Retrieved April 3, 2009, from <http://www.adcouncil.org/newsDetail.aspx?id=207>
- Ad Council. (n.d.-a). Ad Council: Home. Retrieved April 3, 2009, from <http://www.adcouncil.org/>
- Ad Council. (n.d.-b). Drunk driving prevention (1983-present). Retrieved April 3, 2009, from <http://www.adcouncil.org/default.aspx?id=137>
- African novice makes big splash. (2000, September 19). *BBC Sport*. Retrieved August 2, 2008, from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/olympics2000/swimming/931508.stm>
- Agrawal, J., & Kamakura, W. A. (1995). The economic worth of celebrity endorsers: an event study analysis. *Journal of Marketing*, 59(3), 56-63.
- Ajzen, I. (1988). *Attitudes, personality, and behavior*. Chicago: The Dorsey Press.
- Andrews, D. L. (2008). Nike nations. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 14(2), 41-53.
- Arndorfer, J. B. (2002). Gatorade brings back Jordan for new TV spot. *Advertising Age*, 73(42), 8.
- ASC. (2007a). Australian Institute of Sport: what is the AIS? Retrieved November 25, 2008, from <http://www.ausport.gov.au/ais/about>
- ASC. (2007b). General code of behaviour. Retrieved November 30, 2008, from [http://www.ausport.gov.au/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0009/115569/1\\_General\\_Code\\_of\\_Behaviour.pdf](http://www.ausport.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0009/115569/1_General_Code_of_Behaviour.pdf)
- AskMen.com editors. (2009, February 2). Michael Phelps' endorsements: up in smoke? Retrieved February 16, 2009, from <http://www.askmen.com/daily/blogs/sports/michael-phelps-endorsements-up-in-smoke.html>
- Assael, S. (2009, April 13). WWE and steroids: still a tough target. *ESPN*. Retrieved April 19, 2009, from [http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/e60/columns/story?columnist=assael\\_shaun&id=4055522](http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/e60/columns/story?columnist=assael_shaun&id=4055522)
- Associated Press. (2007, December 13). The Astros acquire Tejada in exchange for 5 players. *The New York Times*. Retrieved June 30, 2008, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/13/sports/baseball/13base.html?scp=1&sq=the%20astros%20acquire%20tejada%20in%20exchange%20for%205%20players&st=cse>
- Associated Press. (2007, October 12). Ben Johnson not surprised Jones used steroids. *NBC Sports*. Retrieved February 23, 2009, from <http://nbcsports.msnbc.com/id/21272655/>
- Associated Press. (2008, January 14). Jones (six months), former coach (63 months) sentenced to prison. *ESPN*. Retrieved April 8, 2009, from <http://sports.espn.go.com/oly/trackandfield/news/story?id=3191954>
- Associated Press. (2008, February 20). Questions of steroids follow Tejada. *The New York Times*. Retrieved June 30, 2008, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/20/sports/baseball/20base.html?scp=1&sq=question%20of%20steroids%20follow%20tejada&st=cse>

- Associated Press. (2008, February 27). Poll: most think Clemens lied when denying steroid use, but also say he should enter Hall. *ESPN*. Retrieved January 13, 2009, from <http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/wire?section=mlb&id=3267280>
- Associated Press. (2009a, March 26). Astros' Tejada sentenced to one year of probation. *Sports Illustrated*. Retrieved March 26, 2009, from <http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2009/baseball/mlb/03/26/tejada.sentencing.ap/index.html>
- Associated Press. (2009b, January 29). Doctor pleads guilty to drug charges. *ESPN*. Retrieved March 15, 2009, from <http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/news/story?id=3869248>
- Associated Press. (2009c, February 2). IOC accepts Phelps' apology for marijuana photo. *ESPN*. Retrieved February 18, 2009, from <http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/wire?section=oly&id=3878294>
- Associated Press. (2009, April 13). Tsoumeleka charged with doping. *ESPN*. Retrieved April 19, 2009, from <http://sports.espn.go.com/oly/news/story?id=4064997>
- Associated Press. (2009, September 25). UCI boss on mission to fight doping. *ESPN*. Retrieved December 1, 2009, from <http://sports.espn.go.com/oly/cycling/news/story?id=4502489>
- Atkin, C., & Block, M. (1983). Effectiveness of celebrity endorsers. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 23(2), 57-61.
- Austen, I. (2007, February 27). Ullrich leaves behind racing, but not suspicions of doping. *The New York Times*. Retrieved April 18, 2009, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/27/sports/othersports/27cycling.html>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2006a). Cultural diversity overview. *A picture of a nation*. Retrieved July 3, 2009, from [http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/subscriber.nsf/0/C724250359785DC6CA25754C0013DC0A/\\$File/20700\\_cultural\\_overview.pdf](http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/subscriber.nsf/0/C724250359785DC6CA25754C0013DC0A/$File/20700_cultural_overview.pdf)
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2006b). Population overview. *A picture of the nation*. Retrieved July 3, 2009, from [http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/subscriber.nsf/LookupAttach/2070.0Publication29.01.096/\\$File/20700\\_Population\\_overview.pdf](http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/subscriber.nsf/LookupAttach/2070.0Publication29.01.096/$File/20700_Population_overview.pdf)
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. (2005). *2004 national drug strategy household survey*. Retrieved March 15, 2009 from <http://www.aihw.gov.au/publications/phe/ndshsdf04/ndshsdf04.pdf>.
- Babbie, E. (2004). *The practice of social research* (10th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Babbie, E. (2007). *The practice of social research* (11th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Baggaley, A. R. (1983). Deciding on the ratio of number of subjects to number of variables in factor analysis. *Multivariate Experimental Clinical Research*, 6(2), 81-85.
- BALCO investigation timeline. (2007, November 27). *USA Today*. Retrieved April 9, 2009, from <http://www.usatoday.com/sports/balco-timeline.htm>
- Bale, J. (1998). Capturing 'the African' body? Visual images and 'imaginative sports'. *Journal of Sport History*, 25(2), 234-251.
- Bamberger, M. (1997, April 14). Under suspicion. *Sports Illustrated*, 72-80.
- Bartlett, F. C. (1932). *Remembering: A study in experimental and social psychology*. Cambridge, England: Univ. Press.
- Baseball Almanac. (2000-2008). Cy Young award on Baseball Retrieved June 30, 2008, from [http://www.baseball-almanac.com/awards/aw\\_cyy.shtml](http://www.baseball-almanac.com/awards/aw_cyy.shtml)
- Baseball Almanac. (2006). Retrieved July 4, 2006, from <http://www.baseball-almanac.com/players/player.php?p=mcgwima01>
- Baseball Fever. (2008). The Clemens saga continues. Retrieved July 17, 2008, from <http://www.baseball-fever.com/showthread.php?t=80424>

- Bass, A. (2002). *Not the triumph but the struggle: The 1968 Olympics and the making of the black athlete*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Basso, Ullrich kicked out of Tour de France. (2006). Retrieved July 13, 2006, from <http://msn.foxsports.com/cycling/story/5732336?print=true>
- Beal, A. (2009, February 2). How Michael Phelps screwed-up his Google reputation in just 24 hours. Retrieved February 21, 2009, from <http://www.marketingpilgrim.com/2009/02/how-michael-phelps-screwed-up-his-google-reputation-in-just-24-hours.html>
- Becker, A. B., & Scheufele, D. A. (2008). Public perceptions of steroid use in sport: contextualizing communication efforts. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, 1(4), 444-457.
- Berger, A. A. (2000). *Media and communication research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Berger, C. (1966). True North strong and free: the myth of the North in Canadian history. In P. Russell (Ed.), *Nationalism in Canada*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.
- Berger, I. E., & Mitchell, A. A. (1989). The effect of advertising on attitude accessibility, attitude confidence, and the attitude-behavior relationship. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16(3), 269-279.
- Bertrand, I., & Hughes. (2005). *Media research methods*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Billings, A. C. (2003). Portraying Tiger Woods: characterizations of a "black" athlete in a "white" sport. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 14(1), 29-37.
- Billings, A. C. (2004). Depicting the quarterback in black and white: a content analysis of college and professional football broadcast commentary. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 15, 201-210.
- Billings, A. C., & Angelini, J. R. (2007). Packing the Games for viewer consumption: gender, ethnicity, and nationality in NBC's coverage of the 2004 Summer Olympics. *Communication Quarterly*, 55(1), 95-111.
- Billings, A. C., Angelini, J. R., & Eastman, S. T. (2005). Diverging discourses: gendered differences in televised golf announcing. *Mass Communication & Society*, 8(2), 155-171.
- Billings, A. C., Halone, K. K., & Denham, B. E. (2002). "Man, that was a pretty shot": an analysis of gendered broadcast commentary surrounding the 2000 men's and women's NCAA Final Four Basketball Championships. *Mass Communication & Society*, 5(3), 295-315.
- Bird, J., & Wagner, G. (1997). Sport as a common property resource: a solution to the dilemmas of doping. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41(6), 749-767.
- Bishop, G. F. (1990). Issue involvement and response effect in public opinion surveys. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 54(2), 209-218.
- Bishop, G. F. (2001). Experiments with the middle response alternative in survey questions. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 51(2), 220-232.
- Blair, I. V., Judd, C. M., & Fallman, J. L. (2004). The automaticity of race and afrocentric facial features in social judgments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87(6), 763-778.
- Blass, E. (2007, March 31). Doping allegations to sink Aussie swimmer Thorpe? *USA Today*. Retrieved April 29, 2007, from [http://www.usatoday.com/sports/olympics/summer/2007-03-30-thorpe\\_N.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/sports/olympics/summer/2007-03-30-thorpe_N.htm)
- Bloomfield, J. (2003). *Australia's sporting success*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- BMA Board of Science and Education. (2002). *Drugs in sport: The pressure to perform*. London, UK: BMJ Books.
- Bonds exposed: Shadows details superstar slugger's steroid use. (2006, March 7). *Sports Illustrated*. Retrieved April 9, 2009, from <http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2006/baseball/mlb/03/06/news.excerpt/index.html>

- Brown, R. (1986). Impressions of personality. In *Social psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 378-431). New York: The Free Press.
- Brown, W. J., Basil, M. D., & Bocarnea, M. C. (2003). The influence of famous athletes on health beliefs and practices: Mark McGwire, child abuse prevention, and androstenedione. *Journal of Health Communication*, 8, 41-57.
- Brown, W. M. (1980). Ethics, drugs and sport. *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, 7, 15-23.
- Brown, W. M. (2001). As American as Gatorade and apple pie: performance drugs and sports. In W. J. Morgan, K. V. Meier & A. J. Schneider (Eds.), *Ethics in sport* (pp. 142-168). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Brunt, S. (2000). Unforgiven: drugs or no drugs, the greatest Canadian athlete of the 20th century was the world's fastest man. Isn't it time we gave Ben Johnson a break? *Toronto Life*, 34(4), 60-66.
- Buffington, D. (2005). Contesting race on Sundays: making meaning out of the rise in the number of black quarterbacks. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 22(1), 19-37.
- Burke, M. D. (1997). Drugs in sport: have they practiced too hard? A response to Schneider and Butcher. *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, 24(1), 47-66.
- Burke, M. D., & Roberts, T. J. (1997). Drugs in sport: an issue of morality or sentimentality? *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, 24(1), 99-113.
- Bush, A. J., Martin, C. A., & Bush, V. (2004). Sports celebrity influence on the behavioral intentions of Generation Y. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 44(1), 108-118.
- BusinessWeek. (2009). Celebrity endorsement deals gone sour: O.J Simpson. Retrieved February 16, 2009, from [http://images.businessweek.com/ss/09/02/0202\\_china\\_celebs/2.htm](http://images.businessweek.com/ss/09/02/0202_china_celebs/2.htm)
- Butterworth, M. L. (2008). Purifying the body politic: steroids, Rafael Palmeiro, and the rhetorical cleansing of Major League Baseball. *Western Journal of Communication*, 72(2), 145-161.
- Campbell, D., & Stanley, J. (1963). *Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Campbell, D. T., & Fiske, D. W. (1959). Convergent and discriminant validation by the multitrait-multimethod matrix. *Psychological Bulletin*, 56(2), 81-105.
- Canning, S. (2007, October 4). Player scandals scaring sponsors. *The Australian*, pp. 31-32. Retrieved October 5, 2007, from Factiva database.
- Canning, S. (2008, July 24). Sponsors lament lack of personality. *The Australian*, p. 36. Retrieved February 23, 2009, from <http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,24069562-27698,00.html>
- Carlston, D. E., & Skowronski, J. J. (1986). Trait memory and behavior memory: the effects of alternative pathways on impression judgment response times. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 50, 5-13.
- Carmines, E. G., & Zeller, R. A. (1979). *Reliability and validity assessment*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Carstairs, C. (2003). The wide world of doping: drug scandals, natural bodies, and the business of sports entertainment. *Addiction Research and Theory*, 11(4), 263-281.
- Cashman, R. (2002). *Sport in the national imagination*. Petersham, Australia: Walla Walla Press.
- Castells, M. (1996). *The rise of the network society* (Vol. 1). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- CBS Broadcasting Inc. (2009). CBS sports TV team. Retrieved March 22, 2009, from <http://www.cbssports.com/cbssports/team/jbrown>
- CBS Interactive. (n.d.). About us, - CBS news. Retrieved June 30, 2008, from <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/1998/07/08/60minutes/main13503.shtml>
- CBS News/New York Times. (2009, February 1). American public opinion: today vs. 30 years ago. *CBS News*. Retrieved February 16, 2009, from [http://www.cbsnews.com/htdocs/pdf/SunMo\\_poll\\_0209.pdf](http://www.cbsnews.com/htdocs/pdf/SunMo_poll_0209.pdf)



- CBS Sports. (2009). MLB all star game. Retrieved April 9, 2009, from <http://www.cbssports.com/mlb/allstar/voting>
- Central Intelligence Agency. (2008a, July 24, 2008). CIA - The world factbook -- Equatorial Guinea. Retrieved August 2, 2008, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ek.html>
- Central Intelligence Agency. (2008b). CIA - The world factbook -- United States. Retrieved June 5, 2008, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/us.html#People>
- Central Intelligence Agency. (2009). CIA - the world factbook -- Australia. Retrieved March 22, 2009, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/print/as.html>
- Chaffee, S. H. (1991). *Explication*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Charbonneau, J., & Garland, R. (2005). Celebrity or athlete? New Zealand advertising practitioners' views on their use as endorsers. *International Journal of Sports Marketing & Sponsorship*, 7(1), 35-43.
- Christiansen, N. D., Kaplan, M. F., & Jones, C. (1999). Racism and the social judgment process: individual difference in the use of stereotypes. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 27(2), 129-144.
- City-Data Forum. (2008). Baseball forum. Retrieved July 17, 2008, from <http://www.city-data.com/forum/baseball/213026-roger-clemens-steroids.html>
- Cliff, N. (1970). The relation between sample and population characteristic vectors. *Psychometrika*, 35, 163-178.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2007). *Research methods in education* (6th ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Comfrey, A. L., & Lee, H. B. (1992). *A first course in factor analysis*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Conley, D. (2002). *The daily miracle: An introduction to journalism* (2nd ed.). Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.
- Cooksey, R. W. (1996). The methodology of social judgement theory. *Thinking and Reasoning*, 2(2/3), 141-173.
- Cooper, M. (1984). Can celebrities really sell products? *Marketing & Media Decisions*, 19, 64-65, 120.
- Craig, R. (2005). *Online journalism: Reporting, writing and editing for new media*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Crouse, K. (2009, February 1). Phelps apologizes for marijuana pipe photo. *New York Times*. Retrieved 2009, from [http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/02/sports/othersports/02phelps.html?\\_r=1&scp=2&sq=michael%20phelps%20apology&st=cse](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/02/sports/othersports/02phelps.html?_r=1&scp=2&sq=michael%20phelps%20apology&st=cse)
- Cunningham, M. (2002, September 12). Firefighters find brief relief at Miller Park. *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*. Retrieved May 1, 2009, from Factiva database.
- Czech Ulihrach suspended until '04 for positive steroid test. (2003, May 3). *Sports Illustrated*. Retrieved April 22, 2009, from [http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/tennis/news/2003/05/03/ulihhrach\\_suspended\\_ap/](http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/tennis/news/2003/05/03/ulihhrach_suspended_ap/)
- Davis, L. R., & Delano, L. C. (1992). Fixing the boundaries of physical gender: side effects of anti-drug campaigns in athletics. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 9(1), 1-19.
- Dawidoff, N. (1999, May 30). The Dominican national pastime. *The New York Times*. Retrieved June 30, 2008, from <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9D0CE5DE1631F933A05756C0A96F958260&scp=3&sq=miguel+tejada+dominican+republic&st=nyt>
- de Vaus, D. (2002). *Analyzing social science data*. London, UK: Sage.
- Dean, D. H., & Biswas, A. (2001). Third-Party Organisation endorsement of products: an advertising cue affecting consumer prepurchase evaluation of goods and services. *Journal of Advertising*, 30(4), 41-59.

- DeCuir-Gunby, J. T. (2008). Mixed methods research in social sciences. In J. W. Osborne (Ed.), *Best practices in quantitative methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Delattre, E. (2001). Some reflections on success and failure in competitive athletics. In W. J. Morgan, K. V. Meier & A. J. Schneider (Eds.), *Ethics in sport* (pp. 71-79). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- DeNavas-Walt, C., Proctor, B. D., & Smith, J. (2008). *Income, poverty, and health insurance coverage in the United States: 2007*. Retrieved March 9, 2009, from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2008pubs/p60-235.pdf>.
- Denham, B. E. (2000). Performance-enhancing drug use in amateur professional sports: separating the realities from the ramblings. *Culture, Sport, and Society*, 3(2), 56-69.
- Denham, B. E. (2004). *Sports Illustrated*, the mainstream press and the enactment of drug policy in Major League Baseball. *Journalism*, 5(1), 51-68.
- Denham, B. E. (2006). Effect of mass communication on attitudes toward anabolic steroids: an analysis of high school seniors. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 36(4), 809-829.
- Denham, B. E. (2007). Calling out the heavy hitters: what the use of performance-enhancing drugs in professional baseball reveals about the politics and mass communication of sport. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, 1(1), 3-16.
- Denham, B. E., Billings, A. C., & Halone, K. K. (2002). Differential accounts of race in broadcast commentary of the 2000 NCAA men's and women's Final Four basketball tournaments. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 19(3), 315-332.
- Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56(1), 5-18.
- Devine, P. G., & Baker, S. M. (1991). Measurement of racial stereotype subtyping. *Personality and Social Psychological Bulletin*, 17(1), 44-50.
- Devine, P. G., & Elliot, A. J. (1995). Are racial stereotypes really fading? The Princeton trology revisited. *Personality and Social Psychological Bulletin*, 21, 1139-1150.
- Dickinson, G. (2009, February 1). 14-times Olympic gold medal winner Michael Phelps caught with cannabis pipe. *News of the World*. Retrieved February 21, 2009, from <http://www.newsoftheworld.co.uk/news/150832/14-times-Olympic-gold-medal-winner-Michael-Phelps-caught-with-bong-cannabis-pipe.html>
- Dietz-Uhler, B., End, C., Demakakos, N., Dickirson, A., & Grantz, A. (2002). Fans' reactions to law-breaking athletes. *International Sports Journal*, 160-170.
- Dixon, N. (2000). A justification of moderate patriotism in sport. In T. Tannsjo (Ed.), *Values in sport: Elitism, nationalism, gender equality and the scientific manufacturing of winners* (pp. 74-86). Florence, KY: Routledge.
- Dixon, N. (2001). On winning and athletic superiority. In W. J. Morgan, K. V. Meier & A. J. Schneider (Eds.), *Ethics in sport* (pp. 49-70). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Doping scandal rocks Tours: favorites Ullrich, Basso barred on eve of race. (2006, June 30). Retrieved July 13, 2006, from <http://si.printhis.clickability.com/pt/cpt?action=cpt&title=SI.com>
- Drug Policy Alliance Network. (2009). What's wrong with the Drug War? Retrieved April 30, 2009, from <http://www.drugpolicy.org/drugwar/>
- Drugs and the Olympics. (2004, August 7). *Economist*, 372, 9.
- Duff, W. (2008, January 19). Clemens to testify under oath. *The New York Times*. Retrieved May 15, 2008, from <http://www.nytime.com/2008/01/19/sports/baseball/19clemens.html?sq=mitchell+report+and+clemens+and+government&st=nyt>
- Dufur, M. (1997). Race logic and "being like Mike" representations of athletes in advertising. *Sociological Forces*, 30(4), 345-356.
- Dyson, A., & Turco, D. (1998). The state of celebrity endorsement in sport. *Cyber-Journal of Sport Marketing*. Retrieved July 4, 2006, from <http://www.ausport.gov.au/fulltext/1998/cjsm/v2n1/dyson.htm>

- Eason, K. (2009, February 1). Michael Phelps admits to smoking cannabis after bong picture is published. *Times Online*. Retrieved February 15, 2009, from [http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/sport/more\\_sport/article5634661.ece](http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/sport/more_sport/article5634661.ece)
- Eastman, S. T., & Billings, A. C. (2001). Biased voices of sports: racial gender stereotyping in college basketball announcing. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 12(4), 183-201.
- Eichberg, H. (2002). Three dimensions of playing the game: On mouth pulling, tug-of-war and sportization. In V. Moller & J. Nauright (Eds.), *The essence of sport*. Odense, Denmark: Odense University Press.
- Eisenhart, M. A., & Howe, K. R. (1992). Validity in educational research. In M. D. LeCompte, W. L. Millroy & J. Preissle (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research in education*. New York: Academic Press.
- Elias, R. (2001). Introduction: a fractured fit for a fractured society. In R. Elias (Ed.), *Baseball and the American dream: Race, class, gender and the national pastime* (pp. 3-33). Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Ellison, M. (2001, April 12). US basketball needs bounce. *The Guardian*. Retrieved April 6, 2009, from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2001/apr/12/worlddispatch.michaellellison>
- Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the United States of America. (2006, August 17). China to introduce anti-drug law. Retrieved February 21, 2009, from <http://us.chineseembassy.org/eng/gyzg/t268036.htm>
- Erdogan, B. Z., & Baker, M. J. (1999). Celebrity endorsement: advertising agency managers' perspective. *Cyber-Journal of Sport Marketing*. Retrieved May 21, 2007, from <http://www.ausport.gov.au/fulltext/1999/cjsm/v3n3/erdogan&baker33.htm>
- Erdogan, B. Z., Baker, M. J., & Tagg, S. (2001). Selecting celebrity endorsers: the practitioner's perspective. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 41(3), 39-48.
- Erdogan, B. Z., & Kitchen, P. (1998). Getting the best out of celebrity endorsers. *Admap*, 17-20.
- ESPN. (2007a). ESPN corporate info. February 24, 2008, from [http://www.espnmediazone.com/corp\\_info/corp\\_fact\\_sheet.html](http://www.espnmediazone.com/corp_info/corp_fact_sheet.html)
- ESPN. (2007b). Stuart Scott. Retrieved March 22, 2009, from [http://www.espnmediazone.com/bios/Talent/Scott\\_Stuart.htm](http://www.espnmediazone.com/bios/Talent/Scott_Stuart.htm)
- ESPN. (2009a). Alex Rodriguez stats, news, photos - New York Yankees. Retrieved April 8, 2009, from <http://sports.espn.go.com/mlb/players/profile?playerId=3115>
- ESPN. (2009b, February 10). A-Rod admits, regrets use of PEDs. Retrieved February 10, 2009, from <http://sports.espn.go.com/mlb/news/story?id=3894847>
- ESPN News Services. (2009, May 7). Manny to serve 50-game suspension. *ESPN*. Retrieved May 7, 2009, from <http://sports.espn.go.com/mlb/news/story?id=4148907>
- Ever farther, ever faster, ever higher? (2004, August 7). *Economist*, 372, 20-22.
- Fainaru-Wada, M., & Williams, L. (2006). *Game of shadows: Barry Bonds, BALCO, and the steroid scandal that rocked professional sports*. USA: Penguin.
- Fairlie, H. (1978, November). Too rich for heroes. *Harpers*, 36-37.
- Farhi, P. (2007, September 1). Pro wrestlers suspends 10 linked to steroid ring. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved March 31, 2009, from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/08/31/AR2007083101961.html>
- Fazio, R. H., Powell, M. C., & Williams, C. J. (1989). The role of attitude accessibility in the attitude-to-behavior process. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16(3), 280-288.
- Ferguson, J. (2007). *More than sunshine & vegemite*. Broadway, Australia: Halstead Press.
- Ferraro, T. (2006, August 30). Athletes urged to step up campaign against drugs. Retrieved March 15, 2009, from [http://www.redorbit.com/news/politics/638871/athletes\\_urged\\_to\\_step\\_up\\_campaign\\_against\\_drugs/index.html](http://www.redorbit.com/news/politics/638871/athletes_urged_to_step_up_campaign_against_drugs/index.html)



- Field, A. (2005). *Discovering statistics using SPSS* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Fisher, R. J. (1998). Group-derived consumption: the role of similarity and team attractiveness in identification with a favorite sports team. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 25, 283-288.
- Fishwick, M. (1985). *Seven pillars of popular culture*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social cognition* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (2008). *Social cognition: From brains to culture*. New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.
- Fitzpatrick, M. (2007, November 2). Bonds: asterisk would force boycott of Hall of Fame. *USA Today*. Retrieved March 11, 2009, from [http://www.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/2007-11-01-bonds-hof-boycott\\_N.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/2007-11-01-bonds-hof-boycott_N.htm)
- Flew, T. (2005). *New media: An introduction* (2nd ed.). Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.
- Flew, T. (2008). *New media: An introduction* (3rd ed.). Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.
- Ford, B. D. (2009, April 18). Hamilton says he's retiring from cycling. *ESPN*. Retrieved April 18, 2009, from <http://sports.espn.go.com/oly/cycling/news/story?id=4075873>
- Freedman, J. L. (1964). Involvement, discrepancy, and change. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 69, 290-295.
- Friedman, H. H., Santeramo, M. J., & Traina, A. (1978). Correlates of trustworthiness for celebrities. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 6(4), 291-299.
- Friedman, W. (1999). Million for winning next year's Tour de France. *Advertising Age*, 1, 8.
- Gaffney, G. (2007, June 1). Bloomberg estimates Bonds loses \$10 million/year endorsements. *Steroid Nation*. Retrieved August 28, 2008, from [http://grg51.typepad.com/steroid\\_nation/2007/06/bloomberg\\_estim.html](http://grg51.typepad.com/steroid_nation/2007/06/bloomberg_estim.html)
- Gaffney, G. (2008, January 9). Mark McGwire receives 23.6% for Hall of Fame. *Steroid Nation*. Retrieved April 19, 2009, from [http://grg51.typepad.com/steroid\\_nation/2008/01/mark-mcgwire-re.html](http://grg51.typepad.com/steroid_nation/2008/01/mark-mcgwire-re.html)
- Gardner, R. (1989). On performancing-enhancing substances and the unfair advantage argument. *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, 16, 59-73.
- Gatorade. (2007a). Athlete testing. Retrieved July 18, 2008, from [http://www.gatorade.com/science\\_and\\_innovation/athlete\\_testing/](http://www.gatorade.com/science_and_innovation/athlete_testing/)
- Gatorade. (2007b). Frequently asked questions. Retrieved July 18, 2008, from [http://www.gatorade.com/frequently\\_asked\\_questions/Default.aspx#5](http://www.gatorade.com/frequently_asked_questions/Default.aspx#5)
- Gatorade. (2007c). The Gatorade pros. Retrieved July 18, 2008, from [http://www.gatorade.com/athletes/gatorade\\_pros/](http://www.gatorade.com/athletes/gatorade_pros/)
- Gatorade. (2007d). Mia Hamm. Retrieved July 18, 2008, from [http://www.gatorade.com/athletes/mia\\_hamm/](http://www.gatorade.com/athletes/mia_hamm/)
- Gatorade. (2008). Derek Jeter. Retrieved July 23, 2008, from [http://www.gatorade.com/athletes/derek\\_jeter/](http://www.gatorade.com/athletes/derek_jeter/)
- Gems, G. R. (2004). The American imperial crusade. In C. K. Ross (Ed.), *Race and sport: The struggle for equality on and off the field* (pp. 94-120). Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.
- George, T. (1999, August 24). Sports of the times; it's all ego: in back seat, or up front. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 11, 2009, from <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9D05E1D81138F937A1575BC0A96F958260&sec=&spon=&scp=10&sq=mark%20mcgwire%20milk%20advertisement&st=cse>
- Gettelman, E. (2008, July 23). Bush won't pardon Marion Jones because steroids are not a matter of national security. *Mother Jones*, from <http://www.motherjones.com/mojo/2008/07/bush-wont-pardon-marion-jones-because-steroids-are-not-matter-national-security>

- Giger, C. (2008, August 10). It's still a matter of black and white when it comes to quarterbacks. *Altoona Mirror*. Retrieved March 21, 2009, from <http://www.altoonamirror.com/page/content.detail/id/509904.html?nav=5017>
- Gilberg, R., Breivik, G., & Loland, S. (2007). Anti-doping in sport: The Norwegian perspective. In A. J. Schneider & F. Hong (Eds.), *Doping in sport: Global ethical issues* (pp. 158-177). New York: Routledge.
- Gilbert, D. T. (1999). How mental systems believe. *American Psychologist*, 46(2), 107-119.
- Ginsburg, D. (2004, February 24). Tejada looks to build on Ripken legacy. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved June 30, 2008, from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A3079-2004Feb24.html>
- Godfrey, R. J., Madgwick, Z., & Whyte, G. P. (2003). The exercise-induced growth hormone response in athletes. *Sports Med*, 33(8), 559-613.
- Goldman, L. (2008, January 24). Nike's superstar endorsers. *Forbes*. Retrieved April 7, from [http://www.forbes.com/2008/01/24/nike-endorsement-athletes-biz-cz\\_0124nikeathletes\\_slide\\_3.html?thisSpeed=15000](http://www.forbes.com/2008/01/24/nike-endorsement-athletes-biz-cz_0124nikeathletes_slide_3.html?thisSpeed=15000)
- Goldman, T. (2006, June 24). Ex-friends say Armstrong admitted drug use. *NPR*. Retrieved April 9, 2009, from <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5508863>
- Goodman, J. R., Duke, L. L., & Sutherland, J. (2002). Olympic athletes and heroism in advertising: gendered concepts of valor? *J&MC Quarterly*, 79(2), 374-393.
- Gordon, M. (1964). *Assimilation in the American life: The role of race, religion and national origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Greenhouse, L. (1995, June 27). High court upholds drug tests for some public school athletes. *New York Times*. Retrieved March 5, 2009, from [http://128.91.58.209/Articles/19950627\\_StudentAthleteDrugTest.pdf](http://128.91.58.209/Articles/19950627_StudentAthleteDrugTest.pdf)
- Gurnick, K. (2009, May 7). Manny suspended for use of PEDs. *MLB Advance Media*. Retrieved May 7, 2009, from [http://mlb.mlb.com/news/article.jsp?ymd=20090507&content\\_id=4603850&vkey=news\\_la&ext=.jsp&c\\_id=la](http://mlb.mlb.com/news/article.jsp?ymd=20090507&content_id=4603850&vkey=news_la&ext=.jsp&c_id=la)
- Haff, G. G. (2006). Roundtable discussion: anabolic androgenic steroids: part I. *Strength and Conditioning Journal*, 28(6), 42-55.
- Hamilton, D. L., & Sherman, J. W. (1994). Stereotypes. In R. S. Wyer Jr. & T. k. Srull (Eds.), *Handbook of social cognition* (Vol. 2). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Heiman, G. W. (2004). *Essential statistics for the behavioral sciences*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Henry, N. (2006). The Barry Bonds probe and the shadow of race. *The Black Scholar*, 35(4), 45-46.
- Herr, P. M. (1986). Consequences of priming: judgment and behaviour. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51(6), 1106-1115.
- Hiestand, M. (2007, February 19). Michael Irvin out as analyst at ESPN. *USA Today*. Retrieved March 22, 2009, from [http://www.usatoday.com/sports/football/nfl/2007-02-18-irvin-espn\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/sports/football/nfl/2007-02-18-irvin-espn_x.htm)
- Hilton, J. L., & von Hippel, W. (1996). Stereotypes. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 47(1), 237-271.
- Hirschfeld, A. (2004). Celebrity misrepresentation & the federal Lanham Act: the public fights back. *St. John's Law Review*, 78(1), 233-251.
- Hirst, M., & Harrison, J. (2007). *Communication and new media*. Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.
- Hoberman, J. (1997). *Darwin's athlete's: How sport has damaged Black America and preserved the myth of race*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Hoffer, R. (2006, July 31). It's great to be average. *Sports Illustrated*, 105, 56-66.
- Hofstede, G. (2003). Geert Hofstede cultural dimensions. Retrieved July 27, 2008, from <http://www.geert-hofstede.com/>

- Holt, R. (1999). Champions, heroes and celebrities: Sporting greatness and the British public. In J. Huntington-Whiteley (Ed.), *The book of British sporting heroes* (pp. 10-25). London, UK: National Portrait Gallery.
- Honig, B. (2001). *Democracy and the foreigner*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Howard, T. (1996, June 24). Risky Rodman scores with colorful rewards. *BNET*. Retrieved April 7, 2009, from [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_m3190/is\\_n25\\_v30/ai\\_18440474/](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m3190/is_n25_v30/ai_18440474/)
- Intelligent testing: USOC taking more active role in anti-doping strategy. (2007, July 1). *Sports Illustrated*. Retrieved July 6, 2007, from <http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2007/more/07/01/bc.oly.usoc.doping.ap/index.html>
- International Olympic Committee. (2008). International Olympic Committee - Organisation - Structures. Retrieved August 2, 2008, from [http://www.olympic.org/uk/organisation/noc/index\\_uk.asp](http://www.olympic.org/uk/organisation/noc/index_uk.asp)
- James, J. (2002, September 2). Serving up some attitude. *Time*. Retrieved May 16, 2005, from <http://www.time.com/time/archive/preview/0,10987,1003164,00.html>
- Janoff, B. (2006, April 10). Bad news Barry not a natural fit. *Brandweek*, 47, 62.
- Jenkins, C. (2005, March 15). Players admit steroids changed baseball. *USA Today*.
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence culture*. New York: New York University Press.
- Jobs, S. (2007, February 6). Thoughts on music. Retrieved June 29, 2008, from <http://www.apple.com/hotnews/thoughtsonmusic/>
- Johnson, W. O., & Moore, K. (1988, October 3). The loser. *Sports Illustrated*. Retrieved February 23, 2009, from <http://vault.sportsillustrated.cnn.com/vault/article/magazine/MAG1067804/index.htm>
- Jones, M. J., & Schumann, D. W. (2000). The strategic use of celebrity athlete endorsers in *Sports Illustrated*: an historic perspective. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, 9(2), 65-76.
- Jones, R. (1999). Sport in China. In J. Riordan (Ed.), *Sport and physical education in China* (pp. 1-19). London, UK: Spon Press.
- Juhn, M. S. (2003). Popular sports supplements and ergogenic aids. *Sports Med*, 33(12), 912-939.
- Jung, H. (2004a, December 9). Nike stands by Olympic sprinter, New York Yankees baseball player. *The Oregonian*.
- Jung, H. (2004b, December 24). Nike waits to see how steroid scandal plays out. *Las Vegas Tribune*, p. C01,
- Kamen, J., Azhari, A., & Kragh, J. (1975). What a spokesman does for a sponsor. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 16(2), 17-24.
- Kamins, M. (1989). Celebrity and noncelebrity advertising in a two-sided context. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 29(3), 34-42.
- Kamins, M. (1990). An investigation into the 'match-up' hypothesis in celebrity advertising: when beauty may be only skin deep. *Journal of Advertising*, 19(1), 4-13.
- Keating, J. W. (2001). Sportsmanship as a moral category. In W. J. Morgan, K. V. Meier & A. J. Schneider (Eds.), *Ethics in sport* (pp. 7-20). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Kellner, D. (1996). Sports, media culture, and race - some reflections on Michael Jordan. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 13(4), 458-467.
- Kellogg NA Co. (2009). Kellogg Company. Retrieved February 15, 2009, from <http://www2.kelloggs.com/FamilyFocus/>
- Kenny, J. (2006). Who will fill Armstrong's shoes? *Cycling News*. Retrieved April 18, 2009, from <http://www.cyclingnews.com/road/2006/tour06/>
- Keppel, G., & Wickens, T. D. (2004). *Design and analysis: A researcher's handbook* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Kinnear, P. R., & Gray, C. D. (2008). *SPSS 15 made simple*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Klapp, O. E. (1962). *Heroes, villains, and fools*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Krishnan, H. S. (1996). Characteristics of memory associations: a consumer-based brand equity perspective. *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, 13(4), 389-405.

- Lalor, P. (2008, October 12). Symonds subjected to racial abuse. *The Australian*. Retrieved July 7, 2008, from <http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,22572275-2722,00.html>
- Lance Armstrong Foundation. (n.d.). Lance Armstrong Foundation: home. Retrieved April 9, 2009, from <http://www.livestrong.org/site/c.khLXK1PxHmF/b.2660611/k.BCED/Home.htm>
- Lane, R. (1996, December 16). Nice guys finish first. *Forbes*, 158, 236-242.
- Lapchick, R. E. (1996a). The 1994 racial report card. In R. E. Lapchick (Ed.), *Sport in society: Equal opportunity or business as usual?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lapchick, R. E. (1996b). Race and college sports: a long way to go. In R. E. Lapchick (Ed.), *Sport in society: Equal opportunity or business as usual?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lapchick, R. E. (2000). Crime and athletes: new racial stereotypes. *Society*, 37(3), 14-20.
- Lawrence, S. V. (1994, September 26). Below the surface. *U.S. News & World Report* p. 32.
- Lenk, H. (1976). Herculean "myth" aspects of athletics. *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, 3(1), 11-21.
- Lenski, G. E., & Leggett, J. C. (1960). Caste, class and deference in the research interview. *American Journal of Sociology*, 65, 463-467.
- Leone, C., & Burns, J. T. (1997). Assessing contingency, power, and efficacy: a psychometric investigation of social motivation. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 137(2), 355-365.
- Levinson, M. H. (2008). Examining five "over/under-defined" terms used in American political discourse. *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, 65(2), 134-140.
- Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2002). *Qualitative communication research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lines, G. (2001). Villains, fools or heroes? Sports stars as role models for young people. *Leisure Studies*, 20(4), 285-303.
- Ljungqvist, A. (1975). The use of anabolic steroids in top Swedish athletes. *British Journal of Sports Medicine*, 9(2), 82.
- Lochhead, C. (2004, December 9). Bush wants action to clean up baseball: steroids use sends wrong message, spokesman says. *San Fransico Chronicle*. Retrieved Fenruary 13, 2009, from <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/chronicle/archive/2004/12/09/MNGFFA91PF1.DTL>
- Loertscher, D. (2008). What works with the Google generation? *Teacher Librarian*, 35(4), 42.
- Lomax, M. E. (2004). Major League Baseball's separate-and-unequal doctrine: the African American and Latino experience in Spring Training. In C. K. Ross (Ed.), *Race and sport: The struggle for equality on and off the field* (pp. 59-94). Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.
- Lombardo, B. (1978). The Harlem Globetrotters and the perception of the black stereotype. *The Physical Educator*, 35(2), 60-63.
- Long, R. G., White, M. C., Friedman, W. H., & Brazeal, D. V. (2000). The 'qualitative' versus 'quantitative' research debate: a question of metaphorical assumptions? *International Journal of Value-Based Management*, 13(2), 189-197.
- Louie, T. A., & Obermiller, C. (2002). Consumer response to a firm's endorser (dis)association decisions. *Journal of Advertising*, 34(1), 41-52.
- Loy, J. W., McPherson, B., & Kenyon, G. (1978). *Sport and social systems*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Magnay, J. (2007, April 6). Thorpe case will collapse, predict experts. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved October 21, 2008, from <http://www.smh.com.au/news/swimming/thorpe-case-will-collapse-predict-experts/2007/04/05/1175366411567.html>



- Maisel, R., & Persell, C. H. (1996). *How sampling works*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Major League Baseball Players Association. (2009). Major League Baseball Players Association: frequently asked questions. Retrieved March 9, 2009, from <http://mlbplayers.mlb.com/pa/info/faq.jsp#average>
- Martin, L. L. (1986). Set/reset: use and disuse of concepts in impression formation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 493-504.
- Martin, L. L., & Achee, J. W. (1992). Beyond accessibility: the role of processing objectives in judgment. In L. L. Martin & A. Tesser (Eds.), *The construction of social judgments* (pp. 195-215). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Mathur, L. K., Mathur, I., & Rangan, N. (1997). The wealth effects associated with a celebrity endorser: the Michael Jordan phenomenon. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 37(3), 67-74.
- Matthews, S. (2005, July 27). Andre Agassi drops Nike for rival Adidas after 17 years. *Brand Republic*. Retrieved 2009, from <http://www.brandrepublic.com/news/487951/andre-agassi-drops-nike-rival-adidas-17-years/>
- McCarthy, M. (2006, February 24). Musical chairs for NFL sportscasters. *USA Today*. Retrieved March 22, 2009, from [http://www.usatoday.com/sports/columnist/mccarthy/2006-02-24-broadcasters\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/sports/columnist/mccarthy/2006-02-24-broadcasters_x.htm)
- McChesney, R. W. (1989). Media made sport: a history of sports coverage in the United States. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *Media, sports, & society*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- McCracken, G. (1989). Who is a celebrity endorser? Cultural foundations of the endorsement process. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16(3), 310-322.
- McDonald, M. G. (1996). Michael Jordan's family values: marketing, meaning and post-Reagan America. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 13(4), 344-365.
- McGwire won the HR race of '98. (2003). Retrieved July 4, 2006, from [http://espn.go.com/classic/s/classic\\_HR\\_race.html](http://espn.go.com/classic/s/classic_HR_race.html)
- McIver, J. P., & Carmines, E. G. (1981). *Unidimensional scaling*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- McNeill, P., & Chapman, S. (2005). *Research methods* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- McQuail, D. (2005). *McQuail's mass communication theory* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Melone, A. P., & Karnes, A. (2008). *The American legal system: Foundations, processes, and norms*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Mensh, I. N., & Wishner, J. (1947). Asch on "forming impressions of personality": further evidence. *Journal of Personality*, 16(2), 188-191.
- Mewett, P. G. (1999). Fragments of a composite identity: aspects of Australian Nationalism in a sports setting. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 10(3), 357-375.
- Miciak, A. R., & Shanklin, W. L. (1994). Choosing celebrity endorsers. *Marketing Management*, 3(3), 50-59.
- Miketron. (2008). Tamsyn Lewis comes dead last...too busy policing drug cheats to win... Retrieved December 1, 2008, from <http://www.miketron.com/sport/tamsyn-lewis-comes-dead-last-too-busy-policing-drug-cheats-to-win/>
- Milner, B. (2004, December 14). Sponsors' love of baseball tainted. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved March 15, 2006, from Factiva database.
- Minimum NBA salary. (2005, August 10). *InsideHoops*, from <http://www.insidehoops.com/minimum-nba-salary.shtml>
- MLB Advanced Media. (2001-2008). The official site of Major League Baseball: players: player information: biography and career. Retrieved June 30, 2008, from [http://mlb.mlb.com/team/player\\_career.jsp?player\\_id=112388](http://mlb.mlb.com/team/player_career.jsp?player_id=112388)
- MLB Advanced Media. (2001-2009a). All-star game | MLB.com: events. Retrieved April 9, 2009, from [http://mlb.mlb.com/mlb/events/all\\_star/](http://mlb.mlb.com/mlb/events/all_star/)

- MLB Advanced Media. (2001-2009b). Miguel Tejada stats, bio, photos, highlights. Retrieved March 27, 2009, from [http://mlb.mlb.com/team/player.jsp?player\\_id=123173](http://mlb.mlb.com/team/player.jsp?player_id=123173)
- MLB Advanced Media. (2001-2009c). Roger Clemens stats, bio, photos, highlights. Retrieved March 27, 2009, from [http://mlb.mlb.com/team/player.jsp?player\\_id=112388](http://mlb.mlb.com/team/player.jsp?player_id=112388)
- Moran, S., & Jeffrey, N. (2008, June 25). Ian Thorpe may sue French newspaper over drug claim. *The Australian*. Retrieved October 21, 2008, from <http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,23918721-7582,00.html>
- Morely, D., & Robins, K. (1995). *Spaces of identity: Global media, electronic landscapes and cultural boundaries*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Morgan, W. J. (2001). Patriotic sports and the moral making of nations. In W. J. Morgan, K. V. Meier & A. J. Schneider (Eds.), *Ethics in sport* (pp. 370-392). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Morgan, W. J. (2007). Fair is fair, or is it?: a moral consideration of the doping wars in American sport. In A. J. Schneider & F. Hong (Eds.), *Doping in sport: Global ethical issues* (pp. 1-22). New York: Routledge.
- Moskowitz, G. B. (2005). *Social cognition: Understanding self and others*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- MTV/Ad Council. (n.d.). Engaging the next generation: how non-profits can reach young adults. Retrieved April 3, 2009, from <http://www.adcouncil.org/default.aspx?id=313>
- Mullen, L. (2003, August 18). Nike's deals for endorsers top \$1.4B. *The Business Journal of Portland*. Retrieved June 3, 2005, from <http://www.bizjournals.com/portland/stories/2003/08/18/daily1.html>
- Murphy, A. (2008, February 18). On the road to recovery: cycling begins image-rebuilding at Tour of California. *Sports Illustrated*. Retrieved April 18, 2009, from [http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2008/writers/austin\\_murphy/02/18/tour.california/index.html](http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2008/writers/austin_murphy/02/18/tour.california/index.html)
- Nadelmann, E. (2007). Drugs. *Foreign Policy*, (162), 24-30.
- Nagourney, A. (2008, November 4). Obama elected President as racial barrier falls. *New York Times*. Retrieved December 1, 2008, from [http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/05/us/politics/05elect.html?\\_r=1&scp=1&sq=barack%20obama%20elected%20president&st=cse](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/05/us/politics/05elect.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=barack%20obama%20elected%20president&st=cse)
- Nastasi, R. J. (1995). A conversation concerning heroism: an example of sport literature in practice. *Journal of Education*, 177(2), 47-54.
- National Council. (2001). Creating effective citizens. *Social Education*, 65(5), 319.
- Nauright, J., & Magdalinski, T. (2003). "A hapless attempt at swimming": representations of Eric Moussambani. *Critical Arts Journal*, 17(1/2), 106-122.
- NBC Universal. (2008). 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics - Michael Phelps profile & bio. Retrieved February 15, 2009, from <http://www.nbcolympics.com/athletes/athlete=2/bio/>
- Neuman, W. L. (2006). *Social research methods* (6th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Nevius, C. W. (2009, March 11). Phelps' loss is food bank's gain. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved March 11, 2009, from <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2009/03/11/MNBT16CRD2.DTL>
- Newcomb, P., & Palmeri, C. (1990). Throw a tantrum, sign a contract. *Forbes*, 146, 68-72.
- Newman, L. S., & Uleman, J. S. (1989). Spontaneous trait inference. In J. Uleman & J. Bargh (Eds.), *Unintended thought* (pp. 155-188). New York: Guilford.
- Nicholson, M. (2007). *Sport and media: Managing the nexus*. Burlington, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Nike. (2007). What is the core of Nike's Philosophy? Retrieved February 18, 2009, from [http://www.nike.com/nikebiz/investors/reporting\\_sec/ar\\_07/pdfs/Nike\\_AR\\_MParker2007.pdf](http://www.nike.com/nikebiz/investors/reporting_sec/ar_07/pdfs/Nike_AR_MParker2007.pdf)

- Nizza, M. (2007, September 6). Asterisk to mark Bonds' record ball. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 11, 2009, from <http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/09/26/asterisk-to-mark-bonds-record-ball/>
- Nordlinger, J. (2001, April 30). Tiger time: the wonder of an American hero. *National Review*, 8.
- North American Sports Media Inc. (2007). Charles Barkley speaker, Charles Barley appearance, Sir Charles Barkley endorsement. Retrieved April 7, 2009, from <http://athletes-celebrities.tseworld.com/sports/basketball/charles-barkley.php>
- Oates, T. P., & Pauly, J. (2008). Sports journalism as moral and ethical discourse. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 22(4), 332-347.
- Ohanian, R. (1990). Construction and validation of a scale to measure celebrity endorsers' perceived expertise, trustworthiness, and attractiveness. *Journal of Advertising*, 19(3), 39-52.
- Oriard, M. (1982). *Dreaming of heroes: American sports fiction, 1868-1980*. Chicago: Nelson Hall.
- Osborne, J. W., Costello, A. B., & Kellow, J. T. (2008). Best practice in exploratory factor analysis. In J. W. Osborne (Ed.), *Best practices in quantitative methods* (pp. 86-99). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pallant, J. (2007). *SPSS survival manual*. New York: Open University Press.
- Pallesen, S., Jøsendal, O., Johnsen, B.-H., Larsen, S., & Molde, H. (2006). Anabolic steroid use in high school students. *Substance Use & Misuse*, 41, 1705-1717.
- Paulhus, D. L. (1991). Measurement and control of response bias. In J. P. Robinson, P. R. Shaver & L. S. Wrightsman (Eds.), *Measures of personality and social psychological attitudes* (pp. 17-59). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Payoff pitches. (2003). *Advertising Age*, 74(43), 6-7.
- Peart, K. N. (1996). Not just a game. *Scholastic Update*, 10-12.
- Pechaux, C., & Derbaix, C. (1999). Children and attitude toward the brand: a measurement scale. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 19-27.
- Pedhazur, E. J. (1997). *Multiple regression in behavioral research: Explanation and prediction*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace.
- Peetz, T. B., Parks, J. B., & Spencer, N. E. (2004). Sports heroes as product endorsers: the role of gender in the transfer of meaning process for selected undergraduate students. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, 13(2), 141-150.
- Penner, M. (1998, August 7). Swimmer Smith is banned by FINA. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved February 14, 2009, from <http://articles.latimes.com/1998/aug/07/sports/sp-10985>
- Percival, S. (2009, February 1). Michael Phelps smoking weed. Retrieved February 16, 2009, from <http://www.seanpercival.com/blog/2009/02/01/michael-phelps-smoking-weed/>
- Pettitte admits to using H.G.H and apologizes. (2007, December 15). *The New York Times*. Retrieved April 28, 2009, from <http://bats.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/12/15/pettitte-admits-using-hgh/?scp=9&sq=pette%20and%20mitchell%20report&st=cse>
- Petty, R. E., Priester, J. R., & Wegener, D. T. (1994). Cognitive processes in attitude change. In R. S. Wyer Jr. & T. k. Srull (Eds.), *Handbook of social cognition* (Vol. 2). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Plaks, J. E., Grant, H., & Dweck, C. S. (2005). Violations of implicit theories and the sense of prediction and control: implications for motivated person perception. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(2), 245-262.
- Plummer, J., Rappaport, S., Hall, T., & Barocci, R. (2007). *The online advertising playbook*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Pope, H., Katz, D., & Champoux, R. (1988). Anabolic-androgenic steroid use among 1010 college men. *Physician and Sportsmedicine*, 16(7), 75-81.

- Pope, S. W. (1997). *Patriotic games: Sporting traditions in the American imagination, 1876-1926*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pornpitakpan, C. (2003). Validation of the celebrity endorsers' credibility scale: evidence from Asians. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 19(1/2), 179-195.
- Pugmire, L. (2007, June 23). Marion Jones is out of the money. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved March 28, 2009, from [http://www.blackathlete.net/artman2/publish/Track\\_amp\\_Field\\_36/Marion\\_Jones\\_Is\\_Out\\_Of\\_The\\_Money.shtml](http://www.blackathlete.net/artman2/publish/Track_amp_Field_36/Marion_Jones_Is_Out_Of_The_Money.shtml)
- Quinn, T. J. (2007, July 21). Jury's in on Bonds. *New York Daily News*, from [http://www.nydailynews.com/sports/baseball/2007/07/21/2007-07-21\\_jurys\\_in\\_on\\_bonds-7.html](http://www.nydailynews.com/sports/baseball/2007/07/21/2007-07-21_jurys_in_on_bonds-7.html)
- Rabb, T. K., & Brown, J. (1986). Introduction. In R. I. Rotberg & T. K. Rabb (Eds.), *Art and history: Image and their meaning* (pp. 1-6). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rada, J. A. (1996). Colour blind-sided: racial bias in network television's coverage of professional football games. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 7(3), 231-240.
- Rada, J. A., & Wulfemeyer, K. T. (2005). Colour coded: racial descriptors in television coverage of intercollegiate sports. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 49(1), 65-86.
- Rawson, E. S., & Clarkson, P. M. (2000). Creatine supplementation: the athlete's friend or foe? *International Sport Med Journal*, 1(1), 1-5.
- Reid, H. L. (2006). Was the Roman gladiator an athlete? *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, 33, 37-49.
- Report: Thorpe tested positive in '06. (2007, March 30). *Sports Illustrated*. Retrieved July 6, 2007, from <http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2007/more/03/30/thorpe.drug.test/index.html>
- Rhine, R. J., & Polowniak, W. A. J. (1971). Attitude change, commitment, and ego involvement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 19(2), 247-250.
- Riley, M. W. (1963). *Sociological research: A case approach*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Riordan, J. (1999). The impact of communism on sport. In J. Riordan (Ed.), *International politics of sport in the 20th century* (pp. 48-66). London, UK: Spon Press.
- Roach, G. (2006, September 2, September 22, 2006). Our high-priced heroes. *The Advertiser*. Retrieved September 22, 2006, from Factiva database.
- Roberts, S. (2001, October 5). Bonds breaks record, and then some. *The New York Times*, from [http://www.nytimes.com/packages/html/sports/year\\_in\\_sports/10.05.html](http://www.nytimes.com/packages/html/sports/year_in_sports/10.05.html)
- 'Roid rage' questions surround Benoit murder-suicide. (2007, June 29). *CNN*. Retrieved March 15, 2009, from <http://www.cnn.com/2007/US/06/27/wrestler/index.html>
- Rollin, R. R. (1983). The Lone Ranger and Larry Skutnik: the hero as popular culture. In R. B. Browne & M. W. Fishwick (Eds.), *The hero in transition*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press.
- Ross, L., & Nisbett, R. E. (1991). *The person and the situation: Perspectives of social psychology*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Row, H. (2006). DoubleClick touchpoints IV: how digital media fit into consumer purchase decisions. *DoubleClick*. Retrieved July 20, 2008, from [http://www.doubleclick.com/insight/pdfs/dc\\_touchpointsIV\\_0611.pdf](http://www.doubleclick.com/insight/pdfs/dc_touchpointsIV_0611.pdf)
- Rowbottom, M. (2004, July 25). Gold girl's world fasting losing its luster; Marion Jones was once the darling on the athletes world despite her marriage to drug-tainted shot-putter CJ Hunter. *The Canberra Times*. Retrieved March 15, 2007, from Factiva database.
- Sailes, G. A. (1996). An investigation of campus stereotypes: the myth of Black athlete superiority and the dumb jock stereotype. In R. E. Lapchick (Ed.), *Sport in society: Equal opportunity or business as usual?* (pp. 193-202). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.



- Salkind, N. J. (2005). *Statistics for people who (think they) hate statistics* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Salkind, N. J. (2008). *Statistics for people who (think they) hate statistics* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Sanchez, M. J. (2004, February 26). Nike ad campaign features Agassi, Armstrong, Vick. *USA Today*, from [http://www.usatoday.com/life/television/news/2004-02-26-nike-ad-campaign\\_x.htm?POE=LIFISWA](http://www.usatoday.com/life/television/news/2004-02-26-nike-ad-campaign_x.htm?POE=LIFISWA)
- Sanders, R. (2008). The triumph of geography. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(2), 179-182.
- Sanderson, J. (2008). "How do you prove a negative?" Roger Clemens's image-repair strategies in response to the Mitchell Report. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, 1(2), 246-262.
- Saraceno, J. (2006a, August 2). Agony of deceit in sports comes from the game of life. *USA Today*, p. 7C. Retrieved April 9, 2009, from [http://www.usatoday.com/sports/columnist/saraceno/2006-08-01-saraceno\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/sports/columnist/saraceno/2006-08-01-saraceno_x.htm)
- Saraceno, J. (2006b, June 28). Cycling suffers toll for role in drug testing. *USA Today*. Retrieved April 9, 2009, from [http://www.usatoday.com/sports/columnist/saraceno/2006-06-27-saraceno\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/sports/columnist/saraceno/2006-06-27-saraceno_x.htm)
- Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social research* (3rd ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Scambler, G. (2005). *Sport and society: History, power and culture*. New York: Open University Press.
- Scandal free: China's drug enforcer promises only clean tests in Sydney. (2000, July 6). *CNN Sports Illustrated*. Retrieved 2009, from [http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/olympics/news/2000/07/06/china\\_swimmers\\_ap/](http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/olympics/news/2000/07/06/china_swimmers_ap/)
- Scheurer, T. E. (2005). Musical mythopoesis and heroism in film scores of recent sports movies. *Journal of Popular Film & Television*, 32(4), 157-166.
- Schmidt, M. S. (2008, April 11). Players named in the Mitchell Report are unlikely to be punished. *The New York Times*. Retrieved April 28, 2009, from [http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/11/sports/baseball/11mitchell.html?\\_r=1&scp=20&sq=mitchell%20report&st=cse](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/11/sports/baseball/11mitchell.html?_r=1&scp=20&sq=mitchell%20report&st=cse)
- Schmidt, M. S. (2009, February 11). The tumult continues: Tejada pleads guilty. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 26, 2009, from [http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/12/sports/baseball/12tejada.html?\\_r=1&scp=1&sq=miguel%20tejada&st=cse](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/12/sports/baseball/12tejada.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=miguel%20tejada&st=cse)
- Schmidt, M. S. (2009, June 16). Sosa is said to have tested positive in 2003. *The New York Times*. Retrieved December 1, 2009, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/17/sports/baseball/17doping.html>
- Schneider, A. J. (2007). Cultural nuances: Doping, cycling and the Tour de France. In A. J. Schneider & F. Hong (Eds.), *Doping in sport: Global ethical issues* (pp. 36-50). New York: Routledge.
- Schwarz, A., & Schmidt, M. S. (2008, January 4). Clemens says injections were not steroids. *The New York Times*. Retrieved June 30, 2008, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/04/sports/baseball/04clemens.html?scp=1&sq=clemens+says+trainer+gave+him+injections&st=nyt>
- Segers, K. (1992). *Sponsoring in Belgie [Sponsorship in Belgium]*. Brussels: VUBPress.
- Segura, M. (2009, February 23). A-Rod's former trainer still banned by MLB, still training athletes. *Sports Illustrated*. Retrieved April 8, 2009, from [http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2009/writers/melissa\\_segura/02/23/arod.presinal/index.html](http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2009/writers/melissa_segura/02/23/arod.presinal/index.html)
- Shadish, W. R., Cook, T. D., & Campbell, D. T. (2002). *Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for generalized causal inference*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.

- Shantz, C. (1983). Social cognition. In P. H. Mussen (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology* (Vol. 3, pp. 495-555). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Sheinin, D. (2005, March 18). Baseball has a day of reckoning in Congress. *Washington Post*, p. A01. Retrieved July 23, 2007, from [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A43422\\_2005Mar17.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A43422_2005Mar17.html)
- Sherif, C. W., Sherif, M., & Nebergall, R. E. (1965). *Attitude and attitude change: The social judgment-involvement approach*. Philadelphia, PA: W. B. Saunders Company.
- Sherif, M., & Cantril, H. (1947). *The psychology of ego-involvements*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Sherif, M., & Hovland, C. I. (1961). *Social judgment: Assimilation and contrast effects in communication and attitude change* (Vol. 4). New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Shimp, T. A. (2000). *Advertising, promotion: Supplemental aspects of integrated marketing communications* (5th ed.). Fort Worth, TX: The Dryden Press.
- Shuart, J. (2007). Heroes in sport: assessing celebrity endorser effectiveness. *International Journal of Sports Marketing & Sponsorship*, 8(2), 126-141.
- Sigelman, L., & Tuch, S. A. (1997). Metastereotypes: black perceptions of whites' stereotypes of blacks. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61(1), 87-101.
- Silvera, D., & Austrad, B. (2004). Factors predicting the effectiveness of celebrity endorsement advertisements. *European Journal of Marketing*, 38(11/12).
- Silverman, D. (1985). *Qualitative methodology and sociology*. Brookfield, VT: Sage.
- Smith, T. W. (1990). *Ethnic images*. GSS Topical Report no. 19. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center.
- Snyder, E. E., & Spreitzer, E. (1978). *Social aspects of sport*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Soukup, C. (2006). Hitching a ride on a star: celebrity, fandom, and identification on the World Wide Web. *Southern Communication Journal*, 71(4), 319-337.
- Sports Illustrated. (2009). FINA praises Michael Phelps' apology for marijuana picture. Retrieved February 18, 2009, from <http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2009/more/02/04/fina.praises.phelps.ap/>
- Sports Reference. (2000-2009). Roger Clemens statistics - baseball-reference. Retrieved April 2, 2009, from <http://www.baseball-reference.com/c/clemens02.shtml>
- Spurr, M. A. (2003). 'Playing for fascism': sportsmanship, antiseMITism and the British Union of Fascists. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 37(4), 359-376.
- Starr, M. (2004, August 16). A long jump; track-and-field superstar Marion Jones tries to outrun an accelerating scandal over doping. *Newsweek*, 144, 52-53.
- Staudohar, P. D. (1997). The baseball strike of 1994-95. *Monthly Labor Review*, 120(3), 21-27.
- Staudohar, P. D. (2005). Performance-enhancing drugs in Baseball. *Labor Law Journal*, 56(2), 139-149.
- Stelzl, M., Janes, L., & Seligman, C. (2008). Champ or chump: strategic utilization of dual social identities of others. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38(1), 128-138.
- Steroids discovered in probe of slayings, suicide. (2007, June 27). *ESPN*. Retrieved March 15, 2009, from <http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/news/story?id=2917133>
- Stevens, J. A., Lathrop, A. H., & Bradish, C. L. (2003). "Who is your hero?" Implications for athlete endorsement strategies. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, 12(2), 103-110.
- Stevenson, J. (1998). Nacktleben. In D. Montserrat (Ed.), *Changing bodies, changing meanings: Studies on the human body in antiquity* (pp. 198-212). London, UK: Routledge.
- Stewart, A. L., & Shamdasani, P. N. (1990). *Focus groups: Theory and practice*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Stiff, J. B., & Mongeau, P. A. (2003). *Persuasive communication* (2nd ed.). New York: The Guilford Press.

- Suddath, C. (2009, March 25). A brief history of the War on Drugs. *Time*. Retrieved April 28, 2009, from <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1887488,00.html>
- Sunnemark, F. (2003). *Ring out freedom! The voice of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the making of the Civil Rights movement*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Surin, K. (2006). Fandom: Colin "Pine Tree" Meads. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 105(2), 429-446.
- Susskind, J., Maurer, K., Thakkar, V., Hamilton, D. L., & Sherman, J. W. (1999). Perceiving individuals and groups: expectancies, dispositional inferences, and causal attributions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76(2), 181-191.
- Swafford, M. (2006). Andre Agassi, founder of the Andre Agassi Charitable Foundation. Retrieved July 4, 2006, from <http://www.inbusinesslasvegas.com/2005/04/29/qanda.html>
- Sweet, D. (2007, December 26). Clemens can kiss endorsements goodbye. *wnbc.com*. Retrieved May 12, 2008, from <http://www.wnbc.com/print/14933946/detail.html>
- Szymanski, S., & Zimbalist, A. (2006). *National pastime: How Americans play baseball and the rest of the world plays soccer*. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Tamburrini, C. (2007). Are doping sanctions justified? A moral relativistic view. In A. J. Schneider & F. Hong (Eds.), *Doping in sport: Global ethical issues* (pp. 23-35). New York: Routledge.
- Tannsjo, T. (2001). Is our admiration for sports heroes Fascistoid? In W. J. Morgan, K. V. Meier & A. J. Schneider (Eds.), *Ethics in sport* (pp. 393-408). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Teetzel, S. (2007). On transgendered athletes, fairness and doping: An international challenge. In A. J. Schneider & F. Hong (Eds.), *Doping in sport: Global ethical issues* (pp. 51-75). New York: Routledge.
- Thagard, P. (2003). Why wasn't O.J. convicted? Emotional coherence in legal inference. *Cognition and Emotion*, 17(3), 361-383.
- The International Olympic Committee. (2008). *Anti-doping rules applicable to the games of the XXIX Olympiad, Beijing 2008*. Retrieved March 16, 2009, from [http://multimedia.olympic.org/pdf/en\\_report\\_1316.pdf](http://multimedia.olympic.org/pdf/en_report_1316.pdf).
- Thomas, R. (1996). Black faces still rare in the press box. In R. E. Lapchick (Ed.), *Sport in society: Equal opportunity or business as usual?* (pp. 212-233). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.
- Till, B. D. (2001). Managing athlete endorser image: the effect of endorsed product. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, 10(1), 35-42.
- Till, B. D., & Busler, M. (2000). The match-up hypothesis: physical attractiveness, expertise, and the role of fit on brand attitude, purchase intent and brand beliefs. *Journal of Advertising*, 29(3), 1-13.
- Till, B. D., & Shimp, T. A. (1998). Endorsers in advertising: the case of negative celebrity information. *Journal of Advertising*, 27(1), 67-83.
- Tripp, C., Jensen, T., & Carlson, L. (1994). The effects of multiple product endorsement by celebrities on consumers' attitudes and intentions. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 20(4), 535-547.
- Tucker, P. (2007, March/April). The new media age: end of the written word? *The Futurist*, 23.
- Tucker, W. (1994). *The science and politics of racial research*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Turkish Cultural Foundation. (2006). Sports. Retrieved April 8, 2009, from <http://www.turkishculture.org/pages.php?ChildID=228&ParentID=12&ID=60&ChildID1=228>
- Turner, E. T., Bounds, J., Hauser, D., Motsinger, S., Ozmore, D., & Smith, J. (1995). Television consumer advertising and the sports figures. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, 4(1), 27-33.

- Tyler, S., Kossen, C., & Ryan, C. (2005). *Communication: A foundation course* (2nd ed.). French Forest, NSW: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- U.S. Department of Justice Drug Enforcement Administration. (2005). Drugs of abuse, pp. 1-75. Retrieved March 30, 2009, from <http://www.usdoj.gov/dea/pubs/abuse/index.htm>
- UK university lectures on iTunes. (2008, June 3). *BBC News*. Retrieved June 29, 2008, from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/education/7431918.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/education/7431918.stm)
- Union Cycliste Internationale. (1997-2009). Union Cycliste Internationale. Retrieved April 18, 2009, from <http://www.uci.ch/templates/UCI/UCI1/layout.asp?MenuId=MTUzNDc&LangId=1>
- US Census Bureau. (2000). Unites States Census 2000. Retrieved June 30, 2009, from <http://censtats.census.gov/data/US/01000.pdf>
- Van Dijk, J. (2006). *The network society* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Van Dyck, D. (2009, February 18). Hall of Fame doesn't plan to alter voting rules for steroids era. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved March 13, 2009, from <http://www.chicagotribune.com/sports/chi-18-hall-alex-rodriguezfeb18,0,3619722.story>
- Van Hoecke, J., Van Hoecke, W., De Knop, P., & Taks, M. (2000). The contribution of "local heroes" in the athlete endorsement mix: a case study approach. *Cyber-Journal of Sport Marketing*, 4(2-3).
- Vande Berg, L. R. (1998). The sports hero meets mediated celebrityhood. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 134-153). London, UK: Routledge.
- Vause, J. (2008, August 18). Endorsements pure gold for Phelps. *CNN*. Retrieved February 15, 2009, from <http://edition.cnn.com/2008/US/08/18/phelps.endorsements/index.html>
- Wann, D. L., Royalty, J. L., & Rochelle, A. R. (2002). Using motivation team identification to predict sport fans' emotional responses to team performance. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, 25(2), 207-215.
- We are the Post Men. (2008, January 7). Clemens has at least one fan left at The Postmen. Retrieved July 17, 2008, from <http://www.wearethepostmen.com/2008/01/07/roger-clemens-has-at-least-one-fan-left/>
- Weiss, D. J. (2005). *Analysis of variance and functional measurement: A practical guide*. Cary, NC: Oxford University Press.
- Wenner, L. A. (1989a). Media, sports, and society: the research agenda. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *Media, sports, and society* (pp. 1-48). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Wenner, L. A. (1989b). The Super Bowl pregame show: Cultural fantasies and political subtext. In L. A. Wenner (Ed.), *Media, sports, & society* (pp. 157-179). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Whannel, G. (1995). Sports stars, youth and morality in the print media. In G. McFee, W. Murphy & G. Whannel (Eds.), *Leisure: Cultures, values and lifestyles* (Vol. 54, pp. 121-136). Brighton, UK: LSA Publication.
- Whannel, G. (1999). Sports stars, narrativization and masculinities. *Leisure Studies*, 18(3), 249-265.
- Wilson, D., & Schmidt, M. S. (2007, December 14). Report ties star players to baseball's 'Steroids Era'. *The New York Times*. Retrieved June 30, 2008, from <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=980CEFDE1438F937A25751C1A9619C8B63&scp=82&sq=mittell+report&st=nyt>
- Wilson, J. (2008, August 6). Tamsyn Lewis: I'll be racing drugs cheats. *Herald Sun*. Retrieved December 1, 2008, from [http://www.news.com.au/heraldsun/beijing\\_olympics/story/0,27313,24135962-5014104,00.html](http://www.news.com.au/heraldsun/beijing_olympics/story/0,27313,24135962-5014104,00.html)
- Wilson, T. D. (1992). Attitudes as contemporary constructions. In L. L. Martin & A. Tesser (Eds.), *The construction of social judgments* (pp. 37-65). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.



- Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2000). *Mass media research: An introduction* (6th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Winerip, M. (2008, August 8). Phelps's mother recalls helping her son find gold-medal focus. *New York Times*. Retrieved February 15, 2009, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/10/sports/olympics/10Rparent.html?pagewanted=1&r=2>
- Winkeljohn, M. (2008, July 27). Advocated, NCAA take sides on paying student-athletes. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. Retrieved March 16, 2009, from [http://www.ajc.com/sports/content/sports/stories/2008/07/26/student\\_athletes\\_pay.html](http://www.ajc.com/sports/content/sports/stories/2008/07/26/student_athletes_pay.html)
- Worsley, P. (1977). *Introducing sociology*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.
- Wrestling deaths and steroids. (2004, March 12). *USA Today*. Retrieved March 31, 2009, from [http://www.usatoday.com/sports/2004-03-12-wrestling-list\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/sports/2004-03-12-wrestling-list_x.htm)
- Wyatt, E. (2007, July 6). Without key riders, Tour de France is left wide open. *The New York Times*. Retrieved April 18, 2009, from [http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/06/sports/sportsspecial1/06tour.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/06/sports/sportsspecial1/06tour.html?_r=1)
- Ybarra, O., Schaberg, L., & Keiper, S. (1999). Favorable and unfavorable target expectancies and social information processing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(4), 698-709.
- Ybarra, O., & Stephan, W. G. (1999). Attributional orientations and the prediction of behaviour: the attribution-prediction bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76(5), 718-727.
- Yesalis, C. E., Courson, S. P., & Wright, J. (1993). History of anabolic steroid use in sport and exercise. In C. E. Yesalis (Ed.), *Anabolic steroids in sport and exercise* (pp. 35-47). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publisher.
- Young & Rubicam Brands. (n.d.). February 24, 2009, from <http://www.yrbrands.com/>
- YouTube. (2008a). YouTube - broadcast yourself. Retrieved June 30, 2008, from [http://www.youtube.com/t/fact\\_sheet](http://www.youtube.com/t/fact_sheet)
- YouTube. (2008b). YouTube - Congress asks for investigation into Tejada. Retrieved July 28, 2008, from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4PRi-Xsnxh8>
- YouTube. (2008c). YouTube - Michael Jordan "tell me" Nike commercial. Retrieved July 15, 2008, from [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_BB7kUUKVNO](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_BB7kUUKVNO)
- YouTube. (2008d). YouTube - Michael Jordan Hanes commercial 1998. Retrieved July 15, 2008, from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O-bEZz0eNHc>
- YouTube. (2008e). YouTube - Michael Jordan McDonalds commercial. Retrieved July 15, 2008, from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b49TE4anGBQ>
- YouTube. (2008f). YouTube - Roger Clemens on CBS Part 1. Retrieved July 28, 2008, from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=12OS6X0FO4g>
- YouTube. (2009a). YouTube - Lance Armstrong Nike commercial. Retrieved March 9, 2009, from [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MII5RxhLZ5U&playnext\\_from=PL&feature=PlayList&p=F36263E4428AB6D0&playnext=1&index=11](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MII5RxhLZ5U&playnext_from=PL&feature=PlayList&p=F36263E4428AB6D0&playnext=1&index=11)
- YouTube. (2009b). YouTube - Michael Phelps says he's sorry to Chinese fans. Retrieved February 24, 2009, from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e2xm8nRpMkE>
- YouTube. (2009c). YouTube - Nike and Lance Armstrong fight against cancer. Retrieved July 6, 2009, from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AktxerP7Os8>
- Zinser, L. (2009, February 13). Mazda asks, and Phelps apologizes to Chinese. *New York Times*. Retrieved February 19, 2009, from [http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/14/sports/olympics/14phelps.html?\\_r=1&scp=1&sq=phelps%20and%20apology&st=cse](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/14/sports/olympics/14phelps.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=phelps%20and%20apology&st=cse)
- Zinser, L., & Schmidt, M. S. (2007, October 6). Jones admits to doping and enters guilty plea. *The New York Times*. Retrieved April 7, 2009, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/06/sports/othersports/06balco.html>

## Appendix A

*White Sports Hero's Player Profile***United States Olympic Committee****Athlete Bio**

**Name:** Brian Johnson  
**Height:** 6'3"  
**Born:** December 20, 1977  
**Hometown:** San Diego, California (USA)  
**Resides:** Mission Viejo, California (USA)  
**Sport:** Swimming  
**Events:** 50m (backstroke), 100m (backstroke) and 400m (freestyle)  
**Club:** California Aquatics Centre  
**University:** University of California (2000)

**Career Highlights**

- World Champion in the 50m backstroke in 2001
- Four-time national title holder
- Gold and silver medals winner at the 2003 World Championships swimming on the prelims of the 400m free and medley relays
- Gold medal winner at the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens in the 50m and 100m backstroke

**Claim to Fame**

- Gave up his spot on the 4x100m freestyle relay team to give Tyler Smith, a retiring teammate who failed to medal in any of his scheduled events during the Athens Olympics, a chance to end his career with an Olympic medal. The team went on to win the gold, earning Smith his only ever Olympic gold medal.

**Did You Know?**

- Was a scholarship athlete at the University of California where he met his wife, Amy, a swimmer for the University's women's swim team
- Lives in Southern California with his wife and daughter
- Enjoys cooking, snow skiing, camping and fishing, but mostly enjoys spending time with his wife and kids
- Currently sponsored by Nike

**Quote**

"Swimming has allowed me to see the world and accomplish things I never dreamt were possible. I may not be as young as some of the other competitors in the pool, but my body isn't telling me to quit just yet. What I may lack physically due to age, I make up in heart and spirit. When the time is right, I will retire...but that time's not here, yet. I still have a lot more laps to swim."

*(on being asked if he would follow in Australian Ian Thorpe's footsteps towards retirement)*

## Appendix B

*Black Sports Hero's Player Profile***United States Olympic Committee****Athlete Bio**

**Name:** Brian Johnson  
**Height:** 6'3"  
**Born:** December 20, 1977  
**Hometown:** San Diego, California (USA)  
**Resides:** Mission Viejo, California (USA)  
**Sport:** Swimming  
**Events:** 50m (backstroke), 100m (backstroke) and 400m (freestyle)  
**Club:** California Aquatics Centre  
**University:** University of California (2000)

**Career Highlights**

- World Champion in the 50m backstroke in 2001
- Four-time national title holder
- Gold and silver medals winner at the 2003 World Championships swimming on the prelims of the 400m free and medley relays
- Gold medal winner at the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens in the 50m and 100m backstroke

**Claim to Fame**

- Gave up his spot on the 4x100m freestyle relay team to give Tyler Smith, a retiring teammate who failed to medal in any of his scheduled events during the Athens Olympics, a chance to end his career with an Olympic medal. The team went on to win the gold, earning Smith his only ever Olympic gold medal.

**Did You Know?**

- Was a scholarship athlete at the University of California where he met his wife, Amy, a swimmer for the University's women's swim team
- Lives in Southern California with his wife and daughter
- Enjoys cooking, snow skiing, camping and fishing, but mostly enjoys spending time with his wife and kids
- Currently sponsored by Nike

**Quote**

"Swimming has allowed me to see the world and accomplish things I never dreamt were possible. I may not be as young as some of the other competitors in the pool, but my body isn't telling me to quit just yet. What I may lack physically due to age, I make up in heart and spirit. When the time is right, I will retire...but that time's not here, yet. I still have a lot more laps to swim."

*(on being asked if he would follow in Australian Ian Thorpe's footsteps towards retirement)*

## Appendix C

## White Sports Hero's Newspaper Article

**USA TODAY** Classifieds: Cars | Jobs | Real Estate | Personals | USA TODAY Market

Home  
News  
Travel  
Money  
Sports  
Life  
Tech  
Weather

powered by Google

**Olympics: controversy creates problems**

• E-MAIL THIS • PRINT THIS • SAVE THIS • MOST POPULAR • SUBSCRIBE • REPRINTS & PERMISSIONS

Posted 12/7/2004 1:10 PM Updated 12/8/2004 9:36 AM

**IOC opens investigation into Brian Johnson doping claims**  
By Erin Mathers, USA TODAY

In a move that could result in Brian Johnson being stripped of the two medals he won at the 2004 Olympics, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) announced Tuesday it will investigate doping allegations made last week by Los Angeles Laboratory Co-Operative (LALCO) founder Joseph Sanchez.

IOC president Jacques Fitz advocates a "zero tolerance" policy on doping.

"These allegations against Brian Johnson are very upsetting to the IOC," Fitz said last week. "We want the truth. We want to know what happened. Steroid use in any Olympic sport will not be tolerated."

In an interview Friday on 20/20, Sanchez alleged he created a doping regimen for Johnson in the weeks before the 2004 Games, giving him a designer steroid, human growth hormone and the endurance boosting hormone erythropoietin. He also alleged that he not only watched Johnson inject himself with human growth hormone in 2003, but that he injected Johnson with the hormone 3 different times until Johnson was comfortable doing it himself.

"The allegations made by Mr. Sanchez are extremely serious, and the IOC is fully committed to bringing to light any elements that will help the truth prevail," the IOC said in a statement posted Tuesday on its Web site.

A lawyer for Johnson reiterated his claims of innocence Tuesday. Johnson has threatened to file a defamation lawsuit Sanchez, who has been indicted for illegally distributing steroids.

Johnson's teammate and roommate, Joe Catton, claims to have witnessed Johnson inject himself with steroids on at least 5 separate occasions, 3 of which took place during the 2004 Athens Olympic Games.

Attorney Dan Arthur said that Johnson has consistently denied using performance-enhancing drugs and has maintained the same physical appearance.

The U.S. Olympic Committee supported the IOC action.

"There is no room in Olympic sports for the use of banned and illegal substances," USOC spokesman Darryl Hamilton said. "If an investigation by the IOC will bring an end to speculation or allegations involving any athlete, that will be helpful."

The IOC appointed a three-member investigative panel, headed by IOC vice president Bruce Lowell, to look into Sanchez's claims.

The panel could recommend to the IOC executive board that Johnson's medal be stripped and that he be banned from Olympic swimming for 3 years.

The alleged steroid use of U.S. swim star Brian Johnson is being investigated by the International Olympic Committee.  
Photo by Ralph Jacobs

**BEYOND WORDS**

Background

- BALCO case at
- BALCO timeline
- Key players in BALCO
- Graphic: How it

Audio and video

- MLB Exec VP's Modified: Major c baseball's new (2005)
- WADA's Dick P. alleged involved turning point (Oct Baseball comm) MLB must tough program (Dec. 2)
- Marion Jones re never filled a dr (2004)

**RELATED ITEMS**

Steroids scandal — Overview

- Comparing drug major sports
- Drug-free sports
- Full coverage:

Steroids scandal — BALCO

- Experts say low on athletes
- Media leaks put rights
- Overview: BALCO scandal
- Emotion gets to White



## Appendix D

*Black Sports Hero's Newspaper Article*

[Home](#)  
[News](#)  
[Travel](#)  
[Money](#)  
[Sports](#)  
[Life](#)  
[Tech](#)  
[Weather](#)

[Classifieds](#) [Cars](#) [Jobs](#) [Real Estate](#) [Personals](#) [Autos](#) [USA TODAY](#)

[Home](#)  
[News](#)  
[Travel](#)  
[Money](#)  
[Sports](#)  
[Life](#)  
[Tech](#)  
[Weather](#)

[Search](#)  
[powered by Google](#)

## Olympics: controversy creates problems

[E-MAIL THIS](#) • [PRINT THIS](#) • [SAVE THIS](#) • [MOST POPULAR](#) • [SUBSCRIBE](#) • [REPRINTS & PERMISSIONS](#)

PUBLISHED 12/1/2004 1:10 PM Updated 12/01/2004 9:36 AM

### IOC opens investigation into Brian Johnson doping claims

By Eln Mathers, USA TODAY

In a move that could result in Brian Johnson being stripped of the two medals he won at the 2004 Olympics, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) announced Tuesday it will investigate doping allegations made last week by Los Angeles Laboratory Co-Operative (LALCO) founder Joseph Sanchez.

IOC president Jacques Fittz advocates a "zero tolerance" policy on doping.

"These allegations against Brian Johnson are very upsetting to the IOC," Fittz said last week. "We want the truth. We want to know what happened. Steroid use in any Olympic sport will not be tolerated."

In an interview Friday on 20/20, Sanchez alleged he created a doping regimen for Johnson in the weeks before the 2004 Games, giving him a designer steroid, human growth hormone and the endurance boosting hormone erythropoietin. He also alleged that he not only watched Johnson inject himself with human growth hormone in 2003, but that he injected Johnson with the hormone 3 different times until Johnson was comfortable doing it himself.

"The allegations made by Mr. Sanchez are extremely serious, and the IOC is fully committed to bringing to light any elements that will help the truth prevail," the IOC said in a statement posted Tuesday on its Web site.

A lawyer for Johnson reiterated his claims of innocence Tuesday. Johnson has threatened to file a defamation lawsuit. Sanchez, who has been indicted for illegally distributing steroids.

Johnson's teammate and roommate, Joe Carlton, claims to have witnessed Johnson inject himself with steroids on at least 5 separate occasions, 3 of which took place during the 2004 Athens Olympic Games.

Attorney Dan Arthur said that Johnson has consistently denied using performance-enhancing drugs and has maintained the same physical appearance.

The U.S. Olympic Committee supported the IOC action.

"There is no room in Olympic sports for the use of banned and illegal substance," USOC spokesman Darryl Hamilton said. "If an investigation by the IOC will bring an end to speculation or allegations involving any athlete, that will be helpful."

The IOC appointed a three-member investigate panel, headed by IOC vice president Bruce Lowell, to look into Sanchez's claims.

The panel could recommend to the IOC executive board that Johnson's medal be stripped and that he be banned from Olympic swimming for 3 years.

#### BEYOND WORDS

##### Background

- BALCO case at
- BALCO timeline
- Key players in B
- Graphic: How st

##### Audio and video

- WLB Exec VP r
- Wanted: Main s
- baseball's new s
- 2005)
- WADA's Dick P
- alleged involven
- turning point) (Dr
- Baseball commi
- WLB must tough
- program (Dec. 3
- Marion Jones re
- never failed a di
- 2004)

#### RELATED ITEMS

##### Steroids scandal — Overview

- Concerning drug
- major sports
- Drug-free sport
- Full coverage:

##### Steroids scandal — BALCO

- Experts say low
- on athletes
- Media leaks ra
- ports
- Overview: BAL
- raising
- Emotion sets b
- W index

## Appendix E

*Study 1 Survey Instrument*

Read each statement below (1 – 39) and either agree or disagree, with 5 being the highest level of agreement and 1 being the lowest. Judge your answer using your gut instinct, without having to analyse each question too closely. Circle one number for each statement.

#	Statement	Disagree.....Agree
1	When I think of Nike products, I have positive thoughts.	1...2...3...4...5
2	When I buy athletic apparel, I buy Nike.	1...2...3...4...5
3	This athlete is an appropriate endorser for Nike.	1...2...3...4...5
4	I trust this athlete.	1...2...3...4...5
5	The athlete is a hard-working individual.	1...2...3...4...5
6	This athlete sets a good example for a young audience.	1...2...3...4...5
7	The athlete's values are a good match for a Nike endorser.	1...2...3...4...5
8	This athlete is moral.	1...2...3...4...5
9	The athlete has an attractive lifestyle.	1...2...3...4...5
10	The athlete is a good person.	1...2...3...4...5
11	I would want to be this athlete's friend.	1...2...3...4...5
12	This athlete is a good representation of his country.	1...2...3...4...5
13	This athlete demonstrates pro-social behaviour.	1...2...3...4...5
14	This athlete is successful.	1...2...3...4...5
15	Male athletes are better endorsers than female athletes.	1...2...3...4...5
16	I prefer that a Nike endorser is an athlete from my country of residence.	1...2...3...4...5
17	This athlete is naturally talented.	1...2...3...4...5
18	The athlete is physically fit.	1...2...3...4...5
19	Male athletes make the most effective endorsers.	1...2...3...4...5
20	This athlete would be a credible endorser.	1...2...3...4...5
21	The athlete is a winner.	1...2...3...4...5
22	This athlete is a good representative of the swimming community.	1...2...3...4...5
23	The athlete has a high level of self-esteem.	1...2...3...4...5
24	This athlete has earned the right to be a Nike endorser.	1...2...3...4...5
25	The gender of the endorser is important.	1...2...3...4...5
26	This athlete positively represents the Nike brand.	1...2...3...4...5
27	The athlete contributes significantly to the community.	1...2...3...4...5
28	The sport the athlete plays is important to the product he sells.	1...2...3...4...5
29	This athlete is a good role model for other athletes.	1...2...3...4...5
30	Nationality is important when choosing an endorser for Nike products.	1...2...3...4...5
31	The athlete is a competitor.	1...2...3...4...5
32	I would be proud to have this athlete represent my country.	1...2...3...4...5
33	The athlete is intelligent.	1...2...3...4...5
34	The athlete is honest.	1...2...3...4...5
35	Nike makes good quality products.	1...2...3...4...5
36	Attractive athletes are better endorsers.	1...2...3...4...5
37	The athlete is athletically skilled.	1...2...3...4...5
38	The athlete makes me want to purchase Nike products.	1...2...3...4...5
39	This athlete is physically attractive.	1...2...3...4...5

Read the question below and circle either YES or NO. Circle only one answer.

40	Do you recognise this swimmer? If yes, explain. _____ _____ _____	Yes / No
----	----------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------

Read each question below (41 – 43) and circle the answer that best reflects your behaviour.

41	Have you ever taken illicit drugs? (If NO, skip to question 44)	Yes / No
42	How often did you use illicit drugs?	Rarely / Occasionally / Regularly
43	Did you more often use illicit hard drugs (i.e. cocaine, methamphetamine, etc.) or illicit soft drugs (i.e. cannabis, etc.)?	Hard drugs / Soft drugs

The following questions will create a special code that will be used to match this survey with the online survey while still maintaining your anonymity.

44	Mother's maiden name initials: _____ (first) (middle) (last)
45	Mother's birth month (1 – 12): _____
46	Your birth day (1 – 31): _____

## Appendix E

[Exit this survey >>](#)

1 / 3

1. For each and every statement below, choose whether you completely agree, are in between, or completely disagree.

	Completely Agree	In Between/Neutral	Completely Disagree
Since professional athletes are meant to be naturally athletically talented, any and all steroid use is completely unacceptable.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Since steroid use provides athletes with an unfair advantage over their opponents, consumption of steroids by professional athletes should be prohibited.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Since it is hard to moderate between legal and illegal consumption of steroids by professional athletes, steroid use should be discouraged.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Steroids should not be sold or used except for medicinal purposes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The consumption of steroids should be regulated so that they are available for special circumstances.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The arguments in favour and against the sale and use of steroids are nearly equal.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The consumption of steroid use by professional athletes should be permitted in sports as a means of eliminating the advantage that using steroids provides and making for a fairer competition.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Since steroid use is a major cause of corruption in professional sports, the use of steroids should be legalised.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There should be no restrictions whatsoever on the use of steroids in professional sport.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Next &gt;&gt;

[Exit this survey >>](#)

2 / 3

2. Have you ever used anabolic steroids? Why or why not?

3. Do you think some countries have a bigger steroid problem in their professional sports? Why?

4. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) is effective in...

	Completely Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Completely Agree
preventing steroid users.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
monitoring steroid users.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
punishing steroid users.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

5. Please rate your level of interest in sport on a scale on 1 to 5 (with 1 being the lowest level of interest and 5 being the highest level of interest).

☐ 1
                 
 ☐ 2
                 
 ☐ 3
                 
 ☐ 4
                 
 ☐ 5

&lt;&lt; Prev

Next &gt;&gt;

[Exit this survey >>](#)

3 / 3

6. What are you mother's maiden name initials? (first, middle, last)

7. What is your mother's birth month (1-12)?

8. What is your birth day (1-31)?

<< Prev

Done >>

## Appendix F

### *Study 2 Focus Group Interview Questions*

1. Please state your name, where you're from in the U.S. and the name of your favourite baseball team.
2. Has anybody been to a game this season?
3. What have you heard about the Mitchell Report?
4. What do you think about the status of the MLB and its players given the number of steroid allegations?
  - a. Were you at all thinking about the allegations at the game? Were any accused athletes there? What was the fan reaction?
5. Is it acceptable for athletes to use performance-enhancers?
6. When an athlete comes under allegations, what is your initial response now?
7. Who was a fan of Roger Clemens before the allegations?
  - a. Are you still now?
  - b. Do you believe the allegations?
  - c. Why or why not?
8. Who was a fan of Miguel Tejada before the allegations?
  - a. Are you still now?
  - b. Do you believe the allegations?
  - c. Why or why not?
9. What affect have the allegations had on Clemens and Tejada's public images?
10. Do you think they are any less athletically talented after hearing the allegations?
11. Do you think these two athletes are positive representations of what athletes should be?
  - a. What qualities should athletes possess?
12. Which approach do you think is better – very publicly denouncing the allegations or simply not addressing them?
13. Do you think the media should be making public the allegations?
14. There's a stereotype that blacks are more athletic than whites...do you believe this? Why?
  - a. So does race affect whether you believe the allegations?
15. Is there anything else you'd like to add about steroid use in baseball that we haven't covered?

## Appendix G

*Peter Fricker's Interview Questions*

1. What characteristics do you think make up the Australian identity?
  - a. Do you think sport plays a role in Australian identity?
2. My understanding was that the AIS was formed in 1980 to better Australia's performance at the Olympics, but surely there's more to it than that?
3. Many commentators think athletic success and achievement is important culturally for Australia. Do you share the same view? (To what extent?)
4. And do you think success at the Olympics breeds national pride?
  - a. Do you think Olympic athletes have it in their minds that they're representing their country in competition?
5. What qualities do you think make an Australian Olympic athlete?
6. How do you think Australian athletes differ from those of other countries?
7. Do you think Australian athletes have a responsibility to be role models?
8. Giving everyone a 'fair go' is a cultural theme in Australia.
  - a. Does the theme 'fair go' translate to Australia's approach to sport?
  - b. Does the AIS adopt the 'fair go' approach?
9. Compared to other countries, Australian athletes don't seem to be subjected to much media speculation about steroid use. Why would this be so?
  - a. Do you think that the cultural theme of a 'fair go' is responsible for relatively fewer steroid use allegations?
10. Literature suggests that Australians had credited being 'bushmen' and living in rural environments as key factors in athletic success rather than training. Do you think this is still the case?
  - a. Given that the role of the AIS is to focus on training, do you think athletes still credit the bush as an influential factor in their athletic success?
11. I read your 2006 article on performance-enhancing substances use and misuse in sport. How have steroids affected the images of athletes?



## Index

- ABC, 128, 244, 260  
 Agassi, Andre, 4–5, 8, 10, 13, 14, 78–79, 79, 91, 114  
 AIS, 53, 57, 247, 248, 326  
     Peter Fricker, 53, 57, 247, 326  
 American national identity, 51–52, 54, 57, 93, 94, 100, 218, 225, 246–47, 247  
 anabolic steroids  
     deterrence, 100  
     effects, 82–83, 87, 99–100, 213–14, 225, 226–28, 229  
     history, 83  
     masculinity, 94–95, 293–94  
     media influence, 96–97  
     motivation for consumption, 95–96  
     War on Drugs. *See* War on Drugs  
 Armstrong, Lance, 8, 14, 16, 89, 90, 91, 92, 98, 217, 229–33, 240, 283  
 Athens Olympic Games. *See* Olympic Games  
 attitudes. *See* Social Judgment Theory  
 Australia  
     cricket, 23, 52  
 Australian national identity, 54  
 Australian national identity, 52, 247–48, 248  
 BALCO scandal, 8, 216  
 Barkley, Charles, 12  
 baseball, 7, 16, 39, 50, 52, 84, 85, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 116, 142, 165, 167, 216, 217–18, 219, 225–26, 273, 287, 291, 295  
     Baseball Hall of Fame, 31, 87, 116, 235, 239–40, 244–45, 258, 291  
 Baseball, 216  
 Baseball Hall of Fame. *See* baseball  
 basketball, 4, 22, 24, 76, 220, 221, 234, 263  
 Benoit, Chris, 229  
 black sportscaster  
     Deion Sanders, 263  
     James Brown, 263  
     Michael Irvin, 263  
     Shannon Sharp, 263  
     Stuart Scott, 264  
 Bonds, Barry, 6–7, 12, 31, 86–89, 127–28, 213–14, 215, 216, 228, 239, 242–45, 260, 292  
 Bosworth, Brian, 14, 91, 92  
 Britain, 52, 53  
     advertisers, 223, 230, 245, 255, 271, 284  
     British colonisers, 53  
     cricket, 51  
 British advertising. *See* Britain  
 British national identity, 52  
 Brown, James, 263  
 Bush, George W., 83, 84, 85, 225, 250, 251  
 Canseco, Jose, 93  
 Chinese national identity, 55–56  
 Civil Rights Movement, 260  
 Clemens, Roger, 31, 39, 41, 103, 166–67, 213, 232, 235–36, 237, 271–72, 289  
 cloud of suspicion, 80–100  
     definition, 3, 80  
     Study 1, 141–43  
     Study 2, 165–68, 169  
 Congress, 168, 240  
 construct validity. *See* validity  
 cricket, 51, 52  
 cycling, 15–17, 80, 81–82, 83, 85, 89–91, 93, 97–98, 291  
 digital media, 36–20  
     attitudes, 38  
     new media, 49, 58, 65, 66, 68, 75, 77, 107, 109, 153, 159, 168, 170, 270, 271  
     Study 2, 168–69, 169–70  
 ecological validity. *See* validity  
 endorsement value, 100–129  
     definition, ix, 3, 101  
     Study 1, 143–49  
 ESPN, 103, 128, 244, 260, 264  
     *SportsCenter*, 264  
 external validity. *See* validity  
 face validity. *See* validity  
 factor analysis, 149, 174, 179, 180, 274, 275  
     confirmatory factor analysis, 180  
     exploratory factor analysis, 175, 176, 274, 275  
     factor loadings, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 275  
     oblimin method, 179  
     oblique method, 179, 180, 275  
 factorial ANOVA, 187, 188, 187–90, 274  
     interaction, 149, 188, 189, 213, 274  
     main effect, 17, 149, 189, 261, 269, 274  
 factorial designs, 188, 189

- Favre, Brett, 13, 14  
 Favre', Brett, 91  
 Fila, 11, 104  
 Finland, 100  
   skiers, 100, 287  
 Finnish. *See* Finland  
 focus groups, 160–71  
 Gatorade, 4, 66–74  
   Derek Jeter, 72, 73, 74  
   interactivity, 72, 74  
   Mia Hamm, 70, 71  
   Michael Jordan, 76  
 German. *See* Germany  
 Germany, 16  
   German, 49, 287  
 golf, 23  
 Greek warrior, 47–49, 50, 55, 57, 99, 114, 234, 252  
 Hamilton, Tyler, 98, 291  
 Hamm, Mia, 70, 71  
 Hanes. *See* Jordan, Michael  
 hero  
   definition, 47–48  
 heroism, 49, 56, 64, 95, 114, 115, 268  
 Heroism, 269  
 Hewitt, Lleyton, 14, 92  
 Hitler, Adolf, 49  
 Hofstede, 53–54  
   individualism, 54  
   long-term orientation, 54  
   masculinity, 54  
   power distance, 54  
   uncertainty avoidance, 54  
 ideal body type, 48, 49–50, 95, 98–99, 228, 270, 294  
 incentives  
   Study 1, 171  
   Study 2, 171–72  
 individualism. *See* Hofstede  
 integrated advertising, 75  
 internal invalidity. *See* validity  
 internal validity. *See* validity  
 IOC, 58, 92, 94, 96, 106, 159, 233, 251, 252  
 Ireland, 287  
 Irish, 53, 96  
 Irvin, Michael, 11, 263  
 Jeter, Derek, 72, 73, 74  
 Johnson, Ben, 83, 111–12, 118, 287, 295  
 Jones, Marion, 8, 9, 12, 85, 252, 281  
 Jordan, Michael, 4, 24, 76–78, 127, 259, 268  
   Hanes, 4, 24, 76, 77, 78  
   Kellogg's. *See* Phelps, Michael  
   Lewis, Tamsyn, 118, 248, 295  
   long-term orientation. *See* Hofstede  
   marketability. *See* endorsement value  
   masculinity. *See* Hofstede  
   Mazda. *See* Phelps, Michael  
   McDonald's, 4  
   McDonald's, 76–77  
   McGwire, Mark, 7, 8, 86–88, 115–16, 166, 215, 239–42, 258, 291–92  
   Mitchell Report, 31, 39, 85, 103, 118, 165, 166, 167, 168, 215, 216, 218, 256, 271, 272, 273, 289  
   MLB, 6, 7, 8, 31, 80, 85, 88, 92, 93, 126, 165, 167, 216, 217, 237, 238, 271, 272, 295, 325  
   Moussambani, Eric, 58, 59  
   Mussolini, Benito, 49  
   national pride, 34, 49–50, 51, 53, 54–55, 56–57, 59, 111, 118, 218, 235  
   NBA, 76, 104, 237  
   NBC, 140  
   new media. *See* digital media  
   NFL, 11, 13, 14, 91, 102, 112, 253, 263  
   Nike, 4, 8, 11, 13, 14, 48, 59–63, 76, 78, 91, 101, 102, 114–15, 144, 146, 150–51, 177, 179, 184, 185, 203–5, 217, 229–31, 232–33, 240, 246, 250, 255–56, 268–69, 270, 276, 281, 283, 293  
   advertising budget, 11, 102, 276  
   Andre Agassi, 13, 78  
   Australian web site, 60, 61  
   campaigns, 102, 114, 268–69  
   definition, 114  
   Greek gods, 114–15  
   Kelly White, 14, 91  
   Lance Armstrong, 217, 229–31, 232, 233, 240, 281  
   Marion Jones, 281, 283  
   Michael Jordan, 4, 76, 268  
   Michal Irvin, 11  
   Portuguese web site, 61, 62  
   role models, 115, 139  
   Study 1, 144, 146, 150–51, 177, 179, 184, 185, 203–5, 255–56  
   Tiger Woods, 102, 268  
   Turkish web site, 61, 63  
   US web site, 60  
   values, 115  
   Wayne Rooney, 48  
   yout, 115

- youth, 102, 115, 250
- Nixon, Richard, 84
- Norway, 100
- Norwegian, 100
- Obama, Barack, 260
- Olympic Games, 54, 56–57, 80, 83, 105, 116, 251
  - Athens Olympic Games, 117, 143
  - Athens Olympics, 21
  - Atlanta Olympic Games, 96
  - Beijing Olympic Games, 105, 113, 118, 124, 143, 248, 258, 288, 295
  - fan support, 111
  - national worth, 54–55, 55, 92
  - origins, 56
  - Seoul Olympic Games, 83, 287
  - swimming, 140
  - Sydney Olympic Games, 58, 106, 143
  - Sydney Olympics, 9
- organic reliability. *See* reliability
- person perception, x, 2, 17, 32, 31–36, 36, 39, 40, 44, 64, 65, 140, 145, 159, 223, 231, 272, 283, 284
  - attitudes, 32, 36
  - Study 1, 159
- Phelps, Michael, 105–11, 124–25, 258
  - Kellogg's, 105, 106–7, 124
  - Mazda, 125
- power distance. *See* Hofstede
- public image
  - definition, ix, 2, 100
  - Study 1, 143–49
- qualitative research, 131, 160, 161, 162, 170, 223, 264, 266, 289, 290
- quantitative research, 47, 131, 134, 150, 160, 161, 162, 163, 264, 266, 271, 274, 289, 290
- racial athletic stereotype. *See* stereotypes
- Ramirez, Manny, 85, 294
- reliability, 133, 134, 144, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152, 170, 172
  - Cronbach's alpha, 150, 172
  - Cronbach's alpha, 187
  - internal reliability, 173
  - organic reliability, 5
- Rodman, Dennis, 12
- Rodriguez, Alex, 88, 93–94
- Roman gladiator, 48–49, 50, 234
- Rooney, Wayne, 48
- Sanders, Deion, 263
- Scandinavian, 100
- Scott, Stuart, 264
- Sharp, Shannon, 263
- Smith, Michelle, 96, 287
- social cognition, x, 2, 20, 32
  - definition, 20
- Social Judgment Theory, 15, 24, 25, 28, 29, 25–31, 32, 159, 277–81
  - attitudes, 277–81
  - attitude, 20
  - attitudes, 15, 20, 23, 24, 25–29, 154–59
  - definition, 25
  - ego involvement, 25, 30, 32, 155, 157, 159
  - Study 1, 154–59
- Solomon four-group, 132, 135, 188, 293
- sports broadcasters, 9, 22, 126, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 290, 292
- sports hero, 47–80
  - definition, 2
  - definition, ix, 47
  - Study 1, 138–41
  - Study 2, 165–68
- Sports Illustrated*, 97, 142
- SportsCenter*. *See* ESPN
- SPSS, 149, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 179, 181, 188, 275
- stereotypes, 20–24
  - feature-based, 23
  - media influence, 263–64, 22, 264
  - racial athletic stereotype, 23–24, 126–28, 150, 220–22, 258–59, 259–66, 290
- steroid accusations. *See* cloud of suspicion
- steroid allegations. *See* cloud of suspicion
- swimming, 58, 83, 84, 85, 90, 96, 105, 106, 124, 139, 220, 266, 268, 269, 287, 291
  - Speedo, 59
  - Study 1, 139, 140, 177, 184, 201, 202
- Symonds, Andrew, 23
- Tejada, Miguel, 166, 167–69, 213, 270–73
- tennis, 4, 8, 12, 13, 14, 78, 85, 92, 101, 220, 245, 287
- Thorpe, Ian, 90–91, 140, 142, 247
- Tour de France, 14, 16, 81, 89, 90, 92, 97, 291
- track, 8, 13, 83, 84, 85, 91, 118, 143, 219, 248, 288, 291, 295
- UCI, 16, 89, 98, 291
- Ullrich, Jan, 16, 89, 90, 291
- uncertainty avoidance. *See* Hofstede
- validity, 44, 131, 133, 134, 137, 144, 147, 149, 153, 170
  - construct validity, 153

- discriminant validity, 131
- ecological validity, 165
- external validity, 137
- face validity, 153
- internal invalidity, 135, 136
- internal validity, 137
- War on Drugs, 83–84, 225–26, 250–52, 257
- warrior. *See* Greek warrior
- Web 2.0, 36, 37–41, 65, 72, 107, 110, 116, 168, 294
- White, Kelly, 13, 91
- Woods, Tiger, 11, 23, 24, 102, 127, 259, 268
- WWE, 228–29
- YouTube, 125, 168, 169